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Delegate Addresses Geneva Disarmament Conference

AU2607093689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0903 GMT 26 Jul 89

["The Liquidation of Nuclear Weapons—a Major Imperative for Peoples' Peace and Security"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Geneva, AGERPRES, 26/7/1989—Taking the floor during the plenary session of the conference on disarmament under way in Geneva which debates, among other things, questions related to the halting of the arms race and a passage to nuclear disarmament, the banning of nuclear tests, of chemical, radiological and other weapons of mass destruction, the prevention of space militarization and the elaboration of a global disarmament programme, the Romanian representative referred to the results of the proceedings so far assessing them as modest despite the efforts made. That is why the conference must intensify its work and pass on to basic examination and negotiations on all the priority items in the agenda. Though there is ever more talk about the need for a new-type approach to questions regarding international security and disarmament, the concept of "nuclear deterrence" continues to underlie some states' military theories. Substantial measures for the reduction and, ultimately, the elimination of nuclear weapons must succeed each other at a faster pace so that mankind may hope it will enter the next millennium without such a menace that places its existence in jeopardy. Current developments show that simultaneous action should be taken along several lines both for the denuclearization of Europe, a 50-percent cut in the strategic weapons of the USSR and the USA and for the cessation of all nuclear tests, the speaker pointed out.

Romania takes part alongside the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries and other European states in the Vienna negotiations on a radical reduction of conventional weapons under a strict international control, and is determined to contribute to the conclusion of an accord as soon as possible. Romania, the speaker further said, states resolutely for an at least 50-percent reduction of like arms and the striking of a balance between the two blocs apt to exclude any possibility of military aggression. Romania also is for the reduction of military spending by at least 50 percent in a first stage, the financial means thus saved being used to settle various economic and social problems in the respective countries as well as to back developing states.

In conclusion the Romanian representative shows that, as President Nicolae Ceausescu recently underlined, his country is fully determined to take an active part in the achievement of disarmament, and the establishment of new-type international relations apt to exclude the use and threat of force.

More on Delegate's Address

AU2707075289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0712 GMT 27 Jul 89

["Romanian Chief Delegate's Address to Disarmament Conference"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Geneva, AGERPRES, 27/7/1989—Taking the floor, during the disarmament conference in Geneva, the Romanian chief delegate referred, in his capacity as representative of the host country, to the documents endorsed by the 7-8 July Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states. He showed that both the communique and the document titled "For a Stable and Secure Europe, Free of Nuclear and Chemical Weapons, for a Substantial Cut in the Armed Forces, Armaments and Military Spending" called upon all the NATO countries and the other states of the world to take joint action for the assertion of a new policy of peace and collaboration, of full equality of rights apt to guarantee all nations' free and independent development.

As for security and stability in Europe, the speaker stressed that, according to the documents adopted in Bucharest, their key problem would be to cut troops and conventional weapons, to diminish and ultimately liquidate tactical nuclear armaments, and to build up confidence on the continent.

The Bucharest documents remind us that the promotion of a policy of security, mutual understanding and collaboration among states require rigorous observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs, unconditional renunciation of force and the threat of force, the settlement of interstate differences by peaceful means exclusively, each people's right to freely choose its development path, the strict observance of territorial and political reality, the inviolability of present frontiers and the territorial integrity of states, the application of all the principles of the UN Charter, of the Helsinki Final Act and of other generally acknowledged norms of international relations, the speaker said.

The central aim of the Warsaw Treaty states' efforts is to ensure stability in Europe, assert new-type relations on the continent based on the elimination of confrontation, the building up of confidence and good-neighbourliness, on the participation of all countries and peoples in the resolution of the urgent problems of this continent, the speaker said in conclusion.

Zhivkov Receives, Speaks With New Turkish Envoy

AU2707191689 Sofia BTA in English
1744 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 27 (BTA)—In the future Bulgaria will continue to pursue unflinching policy of peace and understanding with Turkey. We stand for sincere and constructive dialogue on all really existing and arising problems between us. We have repeated a number of times our readiness to search together ways and opportunities for regulation of our relations on the base of the political realities in the world and in our two countries, said State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov at today's ceremony on the receiving of the credential letters of the newly appointed ambassador of Turkey to this country Mr Yalcin Oral [spelling of name as received].

I avail myself of today's occasion to express once again the desire of the Bulgarian people and of the government to live in peace, good-neighbour relations, mutual trust and cooperation with all countries and peoples, neighbouring Turkey included, stressed Mr Todor Zhivkov pointing out that for the two peoples whom history has destined to live and develop as neighbours there is no other alternative but understanding and good-neighbour relations.

On his part Mr Yalcin Oral assured that he will not spare efforts in the carrying out of his mission, in order to cooperate for establishing once again of a favourable climate for development of the Bulgaro-Turkish relations in the conditions of stability and on the base of friendship and reciprocality of the interests of the two countries.

The ambassador of Turkey stood for a sooner returning of the Bulgaro-Turkish relations to the level which they had reached in the recent past, and outlined Mr Todor Zhivkov's important role in that.

British Journalist Comments on Muslims Issue

AU2707191889 Sofia BTA in English
1702 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Ankara, July 27 (BTA)—In an interview for the CUMHURIYET daily journalist Jane Howard, correspondent of the BBC in Turkey, tells of her impressions from her recent visit in different regions of Bulgaria. The daily quotes the words of Ms Howard that she and the US journalist, with whom for five days they had visited Sofia and the regions populated with Bulgarian Muslims, had not any difficulties whatsoever in their entering Bulgaria and had had the opportunity to travel freely through the entire country.

The British journalist says that she had visited the northeast and the southwest regions of Bulgaria. They had reminded her of England—everything is green, clean and tidy villages, good living standards, TV sets, cars, etc., says the journalist. She adds that the standard of the Bulgarian Muslims is such that they cannot be considered poor by any means. Ms Howard also notes that according to her those that leave for Turkey leaving all that behind will suffer a shock.

Answering to a question of the interviewer about the security measures applied in Bulgaria the British journalist says that according to her the security measures they had seen in Bulgaria are far less than those that they had come across in southeast Anatolia.

Asked about her opinion about the fate of the people that leave for Turkey Jane Howard said that they know that in Turkey the unemployment rate is high and they will have difficulties in finding a job. But if one has to summarize, according to the journalist, those people do not think much about their future. At present their actions are dictated only by their desire to go to Turkey, says she. Ms Howard says that she and her colleague had not received a satisfactory answer to the question what do the Bulgarian Muslims expect. According to her most of them will be homesick. Bulgaria is a country of European character, says she, and these people leave behind sports complexes, public transport and many other similar acquisitions. According to Ms Jane Howard when they collide with the human crowds in Istanbul they will start reconsidering.

Zhivkov Greets Mubarak on OAU Chairman Election

AU2707113489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Jul 89 p 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, has sent a message to Husni Mubarak, Egyptian president, which addresses most cordial greetings on his election as OAU chairman.

Undoubtedly, the election is recognition of your personal efforts and the contribution of the Arab Republic of Egypt to strengthening African unity in the struggle for peace, security, and economic progress in the continent, the message reads.

The message addresses wishes for success in Mubarak's highly responsible activity.

Stoyanov Receives French Party Secretary Gayssot

AU2607195389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] On 26 July, Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov received Jean-Claude Gayssot, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the French Communist Party [PCF] and Central Committee secretary, who is paying a brief visit to Bulgaria.

The French guest was briefed on the political and labor activity in Bulgaria in implementing the July Concept; the deep economic transformations related to the company-based organization; on strengthening the processes of self-management and democratization; restructuring the intellectual sphere; and on the general activity aimed at comprehensive renewal.

Jean-Claude Gayssot stressed the interest of the PCF in the experience of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] in constructing the socialist society. Certain topical issues of the international situation also were discussed. Satisfaction was expressed with the two parties' cooperation, and their mutual willingness to further develop, it was pointed out.

Comrade Dimitur Stanishev took part in the meeting.

Zhivkov Receives New Portuguese Ambassador
AU2707183689 Sofia BTA in English 1710 GMT 27 Jul 89

["Bulgaria, Portugal: A Desire to Expand Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 27 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, today received the ambassador of Portugal, Mr Luis Gonzales Ferreira, who presented his credentials.

Pointing out the gradual progress of Bulgaro-Portugese relations in all spheres, Mr Todor Zhivkov spoke for activization of the political dialogue between the two countries, including the contacts on governmental and summit level. He underlined the mutual interest in expanding trade, economic and cultural cooperation.

The ambassador of Portugal said that the reforms implemented in Bulgaria in the field of economy and other sectors of life are in line with the new needs ensuing from the development of the Bulgarian society. They also correspond to the spirit of the foundations-laying documents which outline the present and the future of Europe by strictly respecting the sovereignty, security and confidence among different societies and citizens' individual rights.

Zhivkov, Atanasov Greet Castro on National Day
AU2707133289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and State Council chairman, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent a message to Fidel Castro Rus, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] and chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, addressing most cordial greetings on the Day of National Insurrection. The message points out that the heroic attack on the "Moncada" Barracks on 26 July 1953 marked the beginning of a new historical stage in the struggle of the Cuban people for national and social liberation.

We note with sincere happiness that under the leadership of their tested vanguard—the PCC—and in close friendship with the USSR and the other socialist countries the Cuban working people firmly defend their socialist motherland and successfully implement in life the decisions of the Third PCC Congress, the message reads.

The message also emphasizes the high international authority of Cuba, its active and principleminded policy, aimed at peace, security, and cooperation, and its selfless and consistent support for the peoples that struggle for freedom and independence, for a new international economic order, and against the imperialist threats and attempts to dictate.

The message notes with satisfaction that friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our parties and countries constantly enrich themselves and strengthen on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, for the benefit of the Bulgarian and Cuban peoples, and in the interest of peace and social progress throughout the world.

Cuba's Defense Against U.S. 'Imperialism' Viewed
AU2707133689 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 26 Jul 89 p 4

[Article by Eduardo Gonzalez, "specially for NARODNA ARMIYA": "Ready for Defense"]

[Excerpts] To some people, the increasing efforts of the Republic of Cuba in the field of defense preparations may seem incompatible with recent events, when signs are appearing of a lessening of tension on a worldwide scale. It is indeed true that perceptible steps have been made to avert the risk of nuclear war, and in many cases the language of negotiations is increasingly replacing sabre-rattling. However, these new winds are blowing over the planet because of socialism's firm and consistent policy, and they do not mean that the imperialists have renounced their hegemonistic aspirations, nor that they have given up the use of force in their attempts to impose their will upon other peoples.

In the name of the worn-out phrase "the vital interests of the United States," they are continuing to kindle so-called "low-intensity" regional conflicts, through which they demonstrate their aim of consolidating their aggressive positions, while maintaining, purely for outward show, a worldwide peaceful orientation in foreign policy.

There is no doubt that for more than 3 decades Cuba has presented an attractive target for the plans of American imperialism. Recently the U.S. Administration has been openly proclaiming its desire to crush the Cuban revolution at any price, and, if they have not attempted to do

this by armed means, it is only because they know the price in blood and casualties, which the U.S. people is not willing to pay, and they sense that in the final event an ignominious defeat awaits them, irrespective of how long and hard the struggle should be for us.

The military policy of the Communist Party of Cuba is aimed at winning the war by avoiding it, at maintaining combat readiness at a sufficiently high level to convince the enemy that a mad military venture will lead to sure defeat. Such a policy is completely in line with the peace-loving spirit of the Cuban people. Our Army is only defensive, and it threatens the security of no one. We are not piling up arms and offensive weapons, but we do have millions of men and women equipped with the necessary weapons and trained to carry out their sacred mission. [passage omitted]

In the last analysis, it is imperialism's increasing aggressiveness that compels us to steadily strengthen Cuba's defensive capacity. The secret of our small nation's might lies in the infinite support given to the revolution by the people, who, relying on international solidarity, form and will continue to provide a sure barrier against imperialist ambitions.

Yordanov-Led Delegation Returns From Nicaragua

AU2707133489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Jul 89 p 6

[Text] The delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], which took part in the events marking the 10th anniversary of the Sandinist Revolution, returned to Bulgaria on 25 July.

The delegation was led by Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

Balev Meets Austrian Communist Leader Muhri

AU2707113589 Sofia BTA in English 1100 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 27 (BTA)—Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], met today with Mr Franz Muhri, chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, who is paying a visit to this country at the invitation of the Central Committee of the BCP.

Information was exchanged on the two parties' topical tasks.

Mr Franz Muhri briefed on the preparation of the forthcoming 27th Congress of the Communist Party of Austria.

Opinions were exchanged on the role and tasks of communists in the struggle for peace and social progress in the changing realities of the world.

Danchev Chairs Production Efficiency Session

AU2707185389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] On 27 July in Sofia a meeting took place at which leading cadres from ministries and departments; chairmen of executive committees of certain oblast people's councils; chairmen of associations, and so forth, took part. The meeting was chaired by Petko Danchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The meeting reviewed practical approaches and the organization and technology of work related to developing efficient changes of production and resources in certain oblasts.

Complex working groups were created. The chairmen of the executive committees of the oblast people's councils are their leaders. On the basis of the analysis of the structure of the oblast economies, the tendency of changing labor resources, the needs of the internal market, and the ad hoc changes in the international market, the groups will prepare specific developments and solutions to the following issues: restructuring production and the use of material resources and determining the priority directions in developing the oblast economies; restricting the development of certain low-efficiency enterprise and productions; accelerating the development of those kinds of production that facilitate the sharp increase of the foreign currency income and decreasing the import expenditures; decisively increasing the production of consumer goods and services for the population.

Special attention was devoted to the rapid transfer and introduction of technological and technical solutions, which sharply increase the intensification in industry and agriculture.

It was envisaged that the oblasts, ministries, association, and companies determine the complex tasks and responsibilities until the end of the year. In doing this they must take into consideration the strategy of developing economy at the national level.

Bulgarian Nationality Law Provisions Clarified

AU2507180189 Sofia BTA in English 1730 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 25 (BTA)—Today's STATE GAZETTE carries the regulations for the procedure of acquisition, restoration, relief and deprivation of Bulgarian citizenship and revocation of naturalization.

The document actually defines more accurately the application of the section dealing with the Bulgarian Nationality Law concerning all legal procedures connected with Bulgarian nationality.

Mr. Evtim Stoimenov, deputy minister of justice of Bulgaria, told a representative of the BTA that the regulations do not change the provisions contained in

the Bulgarian Nationality Law or the amendment and the addenda of May 1989. They allow greater tolerance to the principle of dual nationality and open greater possibilities for the acquisition and restoration to Bulgarian citizenship, including heirs, and allow people to preserve their foreign citizenship at the same time.

In connection with the regulations, Mr. Evtim Stoimenov pointed out that the Bulgarians living in different parts of the world showed great interest in the possibility of recovering their Bulgarian citizenship which was lost due to various reasons. As far as any refusal is concerned, it is possible only when a grave crime against Bulgaria has been committed.

Property problems connected with the possibility of Bulgarian citizens to travel freely and live abroad were also commented on. It was pointed out that these matters are provided for by the Bulgarian legislation in a way that guarantees the right of heritage. People are allowed to legally own immovable property and get income from it, the money being usable during their stay in Bulgaria.

Regulations for Applying Citizenship Act Issued
AU2607085389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Jul 89 p 2

[Text] Issue No 57 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK publishes the following act of greater importance:

—Code of regulations issued by the Ministry of Justice for applying Section 3 of the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship. The more important provisions of the code are as follows: Bulgarian citizenship by origin, according to Article 6, or by birth, under Article 7 of the Law, is acquired by right from the moment of birth. The acquisition of Bulgarian citizenship by naturalization, revocation and restoration of this citizenship, and release from or deprivation of citizenship are effected by decree of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The minister of justice decides whether to submit a proposal for a decree to be issued or whether the application should be set aside. The decision by which the application is set aside is not subject to appeal. However, the applicant is entitled to make a second application within 2 months of the announcement of the decision, asking for the decision to be amended. A document (certificate) is issued in cases where a person acquires Bulgarian citizenship by naturalization, has his Bulgarian citizenship restored, or is relieved of Bulgarian citizenship. The code also sets out detailed regulations for a number of other matters connected with Bulgarian citizenship.

Decrease in Crime Rate in Sofia Reported
AU2707164989 Sofia BTA in English 1537 GMT 27 Jul 89

["Rate of Crime Goes Down"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 27 (BTA)—540 crimes less in comparison to the first six months of 1988 have been registered in Sofia. This was said by the head of the Sofia Town Department of the Ministry of the Interior Major General Nikola Malinchev, at a press conference here.

Murders and attempted murders have gone down by 25 per cent, rapes and the attempts for rape—by 30 per cent, says General Malinchev. He noted however that these positive changes still lack the character of a stable tendency toward falling down of criminality. According to the chief of the Sofia police the intensity of thefts continues to be high. In the first five months of the year there have been 841 thefts of public property and 2831—of personal property. 1414 criminals have been detained, 13 per cent of whom—under age, 17.3 per cent—recidivist, and 16 per cent—people who do not work.

General Malinchev said that changes in the methods have been noted which testify for the attempts of the criminals to "adapt" to the reforms in economy. Criminal groups are being formed, which have different "fields of activity".

At present the Sofia Police Department makes special efforts for the observing of the new normative documents, for consolidation of the company organization of labour. The aim is to prevent the discrediting of important government resolutions, said General Malinchev.

Radio Free Europe Reporter Kostov Denounced
AU2707164889

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 26 July on page 4 carries a 3,500-word article by Stoyan Angelov entitled "The Transformations of a Renegade." The article analyzes the activity of Vladimir Kostov, a former Bulgarian journalist who defected to the West 12 years ago and is currently employed by the RFE.

Angelov maintains that "Kostov's opinion and behavior underwent an evolution," and that "step by step the renegade adopted new guises" and finally reached his present image "as a zealous contributor to the publications of the fascist Bulgarian National Front [a Munich-based organization], led by Ivan Dochev."

A substantial part of the article is devoted to Kostov's articles and commentaries written during the trial of Sergey Antonov in Italy. In this context Angelov points out that "without shunning the ugliest forms of treachery against Bulgaria, Kostov reached the point at which before an accusation was made against the unjustly arrested Bulgarian citizen Sergey Antonov, he, the RFE guardian of humanism and legality, immediately pronounced Antonov 'guilty' and pointed out the 'guilt' of Antonov and the motherland, betrayed by the self-appointed 'prosecutor.'" Angelov denounces Kostov's writings of that period, compares them with the articles of "the compromised servants of reaction, Paul Heinze

and Claire Sterling," calls Kostov "the partner of Paul Heinze and Claire Sterling," and "a paid mercenary of the forces of darkness." In this context Angelov writes:

"The reaction and behavior of the RFE employee are not merely foreseeable, but virtually automated. It suffices to know what kind of regular anti-Bulgarian campaign begins in the West to understand that Kostov will be one of its most militant champions. It suffices to know that when Bulgaria has achieved a certain specific success, it foresees that on the very same evening Kostov will try to contest and slander it. Even his tone of voice is always the same: arrogant, admonishing, and full of the self-conceited assumption that he has the key to the absolute truths."

Angelov notes Kostov's negative attitude toward restructuring in the USSR and Bulgaria and points out that "for him there can be no changes in Bulgaria or in the USSR."

The final part of the article deals with Kostov's commentaries on the issue of the Bulgarian Muslims and the new foreign travel passports. Angelov stresses that "in harmony with the inspirers of the most blatant anti-Bulgarian campaign in Turkey, Vladimir Kostov began to convince the listeners that the Islamized Bulgarians are being forcibly expelled from Bulgaria, that they have been forced to leave within one night, that their property has been stolen, and so forth." The official position of the Bulgarian Government on the issue of the Bulgarian Muslims is presented by Angelov against the background of quotations from Kostov's commentaries.

In conclusion Angelov writes:

"Vladimir Kostov's personal and professional behavior proves that he has always been on the opposite side, and that his convictions and positions have always been identified with the convictions and positions of the most hostile and anti-Bulgarian forces, and that he has always been a paid mercenary of the 'cold war.'

"Parting with Bulgaria forever, Vladimir Kostov refused to see his own mother. Why then should we expect him to have any feelings for the motherland? For 12 years Kostov has been serving the RFE. During all this time others do not remember him or his colleagues sharing even once the Bulgarians' happiness about the victories of our golden girls [reference to the Bulgarian rhythmic gymnasts, world and European champions] or the sorrow of hearing that Khristo Prodanov selected for himself a grave in the world's highest place [reference to the leader of the Bulgarian expedition to Mount Everest, who died upon his descent from Mount Everest]. This is so because the Bulgaria that they speak about daily is an alien word to them, as alien as they themselves will be for having denounced its name and flag."

USSR Economist Interviewed on Trade Relations

AU2607085089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
21 Jul 89 p 6

[Interview with Yuriy Gavrilov, responsible secretary of the Soviet part of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, by NOVOSTI correspondent Boris Labutin: "The CSSR-USSR Trade: Changes That Could Have Been Expected"—place, date not given]

[Text] [Labutin] A report was published in the Soviet and Czechoslovak press, according to which the volume of foreign trade between our countries decreased last year. What caused this drop? I am sure you will agree that after many years of steady growth of our mutual trade, this report surprised many people.

[Gavrilov] It is a fact that the interbranch division of labor, that has come into being between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union for many years determined the dynamic growth of our economic and trade cooperation. Until the middle of the 1970's, this dynamism resulted from increasing the physical volume of mutual deliveries. In the decade that followed, the increase of the prices of primary fuel and raw material components of the Soviet exports, elicited by the worldwide trends that, however, overtook the growth of prices for Czechoslovak finished products, had great influence. This development required of the Czechoslovak side to increase the physical volumes of its exports, especially of machinery and equipment.

However, in the middle of the 1980's the situation began to change drastically. As the result of the drop of world prices for raw materials and, above all, crude oil, the Soviet side ended up in the red. Today the situation is already such that the Soviet Union must reach for complementary measures to balance its trade with Czechoslovakia.

I will now point out several ways that one could solve that complex problem. In the first place, one should begin increasing deliveries of goods that Czechoslovakia needs. Work in that respect is already under way, but I must openly say that here the possibilities are limited. Therefore, in cooperation with the Czechoslovak colleagues, we were forced to reassess Czechoslovak exports to the USSR in the sense of certain restrictions. Last year this decrease amounted to about R700 million. In their total, the imports from the CSSR in 1988 constituted R6,83 billion, and the exports from the USSR to the CSSR R6,34 billion.

[Labutin] What CSSR exports did the restrictions apply to?

[Gavrilov] Mainly machinery and equipment with insufficient technical-economic parameters.

Czechoslovakia sells or exports to the USSR about 40 percent of its exports of engineering production, that is the 5-fold of what it purchases from the Soviet Union. If a balance is to be achieved, this ratio has to change. This also would correspond to the CSSR interests, because it could reduce the huge number of product lines manufactured by Czechoslovak engineering, which today covers some 70 percent of the world range of products of that sector. This task is delineated in the "Concept For Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the CSSR and the USSR For the Next 15-20 Years," which was signed by the heads of our states in Moscow on 17 February. The concept stipulates that Czechoslovakia will gradually narrow the range of its engineering production, and will to a greater extent satisfy its needs with imports from the USSR.

Another topical task is increasing the quality of machinery and equipment which is the subject of mutual deliveries. It is no secret that obsolete and material-intensive products which have no future still have an important place in those deliveries. There is no doubt that mutual deliveries of products of substandard quality benefit neither of the two sides. A recent analysis revealed that just over one-third of the mutually delivered products of the engineering and electrical engineering industries have world standards. About one-third of the range must be upgraded without delay, and the rest taken out of production. Regarding the Czechoslovak deliveries, these requirements concern, above all, some types of equipment for the chemical industry and crude oil processing, ships engines, and construction and road construction machinery. The Soviet exporters face a lot of work in this respect, too.

On the recommendation of our commission, the pertinent ministries and ministerial department of the two countries last year worked out coordinated measures which determine concrete directions and deadlines for improving the quality of mutually delivered technology. These measures had been sent to the appropriate ministries and enterprises with the result that the work on their practical implementation has already begun.

[Labutin] What does the structure of Soviet exports to the CSSR look like? Has anything changed?

[Gavrilov] In the current 5-year plan the structure remains unchanged for both volume and range. After all, it consists of up to 75 percent of fuels, raw materials, and chemical and construction materials, which are of vital importance to the Czechoslovak economy. Two percent account for consumer goods, in which—according to my information—Czechoslovak customers are considerably interested. Machinery and equipment account for only 12 percent. I will enumerate only the most important items: computer parts, communications equipment, aviation and road construction machinery, tractors, passenger cars, and machine tools.

In the coming 5-year plan, we count on increasing Soviet exports of electronic products (including consumer electronics), mining equipment, agricultural machinery, passenger and special automobiles, heavy bulldozers, and some other engineering products.

[Labutin] You said that the proportion of engineering products in Soviet exports will increase. However, Czechoslovakia, with its wealth of traditions, is no less interested in increasing the proportion of this production in its own exports. Do you see a solution here? How, on the other hand, can we harmonize our attempts to abandon the raw material character of our exports with the growing demand of the Czechoslovak economy for raw materials, which it covers by 70-100 percent precisely by imports from the USSR?

[Gavrilov] There will not be any contradiction provided we proceed from the assumption that our countries are entering a new stage of socialist economic integration, the essence of which is swapping the extensive, in principle already exhausted, factors for expanding cooperation for intensive factors.

Stable sales of Czechoslovak engineering products, which pay for a considerable part of the imports from the USSR, create prerequisites for a stable development of the key branches of the CSSR industry. In the future, the Soviet Union counts on making use of the Czechoslovak engineering base when equipping a number of branches of its own industry with technology, for example, when restructuring and developing the production of machine tools, light and food industry, and some capacities in the metallurgical and chemical industries. Thus, engineering will remain the most important direction in our economic relations. In this 5-year plan, the exchange of machinery and equipment is to reach R22 billion, and for the 1991-95 period the growth is to reach R29 billion, with the imports of Czechoslovak engineering products to rise by about R1 billion.

However, that growth is to take place on a different basis, that is, not by increasing the exchange of finished products, but, above all, by expanding cooperation deliveries. The course on the intensification of cooperation, which our countries have started, presupposes going from the interbranch division of labor to intrabranch specialization and cooperation, that is, to divide its production program among specific enterprises on both sides of the border. Therefore, the question of how the cooperation in the production of components and assembly units in engineering and electronics, especially regarding the production of new technology, will develop, is of exceptional importance for the dynamism of the Czechoslovak-Soviet trade in the coming period.

We must admit that the cooperation deliveries in this 5-year plan will constitute only a modest figure—only about R1,5 billion. In the future, we want to increase their volume up to R3,4 billion. And the untapped potential is still greater. This is the reason that we attach such importance to the development of direct production relations between Soviet and Czechoslovak enterprises.

And now let us say something about our deliveries of the basic energy and raw material carriers to the CSSR. In accordance with a bilateral agreement, their level is to be stabilized, and this means that their proportion in the overall foreign trade will decrease. Here I would like to again mention the common concept adopted on 15 February. The concept stipulates that the two sides will strive to increase the extent of the processing of the raw materials delivered from the Soviet Union and to gradually substitute their deliveries by deliveries of semi-finished products. This would make it possible in the two countries to considerably increase the social productivity of labor. It is no secret that the present day USSR and CSSR national economies are too energy-intensive. With respect to an efficient utilization of energy resources, we are considerably lagging behind developed capitalist countries. When we take objective reasons into consideration, achieving an accelerated pace of production increases, compared with the pace of the growth of energy consumption, and ensuring future economic development in principle without increased consumption of organic fuels, remain the two countries' most important joint task for the immediate future. This presupposes changes in the structure of production and consumption of energy, for example, to preferentially develop nuclear power engineering, use more extensively natural gas as motor fuel, and employ renewable energy resources to a greater extent.

All these changes will, without a doubt, also become reflected in the structure of our bilateral foreign trade.

[Labutin] All you have said until now reaffirms that the long period of "conflict-free" approach to our economic and scientific-technical cooperation is apparently over. How did the work of the commission itself change? What is lying on your desk now?

[Gavrilov] The issues I have mentioned were the subject of discussion at the February meeting of the USSR and Czechoslovak premiers, and today they are under the supervision of our intergovernmental commission. The commission held its regular meeting last June, discussing improving the economic cooperation mechanism, including new forms of relations between the two countries' enterprises and organizations. There are plenty of problems. At the session we also discussed together proposals aimed at expanding cooperation in the development of equipment, instruments, and materials designed for the protection of the environment and organizing their production in cooperation. At the moment we are working out issues connected with covering the future Czechoslovak natural gas needs, and assessing the technical standard and the quality of mutually delivered machinery.

The commission's work has become intensified. In addition to the regular annual sessions, of late the chairmen of the national parts of the commission have been holding meetings addressing specific cooperation issues. This permits resolving them flexibly and more efficiently. The number of various sessions that required the

involvement of a great number of experts from the two countries has been reduced. Today, we are resolving many problems by telephone or telex.

Obzina Interviewed on CEMA's Plans, Part One

AU2707182489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Jul 89 p 3

[First part of RUDE PRAVO's interview with CSSR Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina: "Czechoslovak Proposals for CEMA's Activity Under New Conditions; Topical Issues of Comprehensive Cooperation"—place, date not given]

[Excerpts] CEMA has become an important factor in the development of the economies of the socialist countries. The mechanism of its activity corresponded to the needs of the past period, and thus, with the ongoing restructuring of the national economic mechanisms—above all, of management and planning mechanisms—in a number of countries, it is desirable to introduce also in CEMA's activity new, dynamics-inducing elements. Czechoslovakia's contributions are extensive concrete proposals concerning a number of problems. RUDE PRAVO has asked Comrade Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier, for an interview to elucidate this subject in greater detail. The following is the first part of his replies. [passage omitted]

[RUDE PRAVO] **Views have been cropping up that CEMA is losing its attraction and importance. Is this objective?**

[Obzina] Of late, when assessing the results of cooperation to date and its present state, elements of negativism have often been unjustly predominate in the CEMA community with both a number of our journalists and journalists of the other CEMA member states. This "conjectural way of seeing things" is not objectively substantiated, and yet it exerts strong influence on the consciousness of the broad public. Moreover, such opportune assessment is being uncritically taken over even though it is based on non-historical approaches.

I am not in favor of such onesided assessment, because this is at variance with facts presented by the survey of the basic indicators of the world economic development according to regions and selected states. The community of the CEMA member states constitutes **a unique world industrial complex, it has at a highly professional manpower potential at its disposal, it has exceptional resources of basic raw and other materials, fuels, a great scientific-technical rear [zazemi], and is carrying out extensive capital construction.** The contemporary economy of the CEMA member states is the result of the rapid industrialization process which has been carried out in quite concrete international-political conditions, the consequences of which have endured to this day. This is connected to the system of the management of the national economy and the mutual economic relations. **In a concrete historical situation of the CSSR's political interests, the CEMA community constitutes the fundamental external conditions for the further economic development.** This is attested to, among other things, by the fact that in 1988 the share of the CEMA member states in the total turnover of the Czechoslovak foreign trade accounted for 74.63 percent (the share of the CEMA member states in Czechoslovakia's exports accounts for 75.15 percent, and in Czechoslovakia's imports 74.09 percent). There is no doubt that this is one of the fundamental reasons why the Czechoslovak economy is not undergoing a crisis, which we are witnessing in a number of other countries. This fact alone should lead "cheap critics" from the viewpoint of Czechoslovak interests to doing some serious thinking. [passage omitted]

[RUDE PRAVO] **The developments in the individual CEMA states are fairly differentiated these days....**

[Obzina] We must prepare for the fact that the development in the nearest period will be, without a doubt, demanding and difficult. The considerably differentiated development now under way in the individual states requires a very sober analysis and a differentiated approach on the CSSR's part. We must prepare ourselves for the necessary partial solutions, agreements, and compromises. **However, all CEMA member states are facing the most topical task now—halting the loss of pace and the reduction of the volume of mutual foreign trade and economic cooperation among the member states, rationally consolidating mutual relations and renewing the dynamics of their growth.**

Therefore, in the present situation it is necessary to again put the role of the Soviet Union and its economy to the fore despite its present day exceptionally complex intrastate economic situation without underestimating the role of the other CEMA member states. The Soviet economy has, and in the future will have for us an increasingly more important position not only from the viewpoint of raw and other materials' resources, as it is the case today, but, in particular, from the viewpoint of scientific-technical development, as a market, and gradually to an ever increasing extent also as the determining factor for the rational specialization of the Czechoslovak production potential. **This, understandably, requires the USSR to strengthen** its position as the producer and, especially, supplier of, in particular, advanced engineering products and products of other processing industries.

[RUDE PRAVO] **What are you reckoning with in our country?**

[Obzina] We proceed from the assumption that the focal point of our mutual relations will shift, above all, into the processing industry, that we will substantially expand the volume and range, and improve the quality of consumer goods. By doing this, the composition of mutual trade will become much more differentiated. Objectively we are standing at the threshold of going over to the individual economies' fundamental specialization. To carry out this transformation, all CEMA member states must make maximum use of the natural, technical, technological, intellectual, and professional

potential, and strengthen, respectively develop, the specific profiles of the national economic complexes of the individual CEMA member states. [passage omitted]

I am in favor of a sober, objective assessment, devoid of cheap optimism and emotions. One has to realize that shaping a new profile of the economies of the individual member states could bring with itself also a number of difficulties and certain sociopolitical problems. As practice shows, it will be possible to master them, as well as the future programmatic tasks of socialist construction, only when we cooperate.

No single state's economy, perhaps with the exception of the Soviet Union, is capable of gradually carrying out decisive measures aimed at restoring and bringing about an upsurge in socialist economy in isolation from the other CEMA member states.

[RUDE PRAVO] **What does the CSSR consider to be its most important contribution to the realization of the collective concept of the socialist division of labor within the CEMA framework?**

[Obzina] [passage omitted] **The Czechoslovak economy** in the sense of the CPCZ's [Czechoslovak Communist Party] long-term national economic strategy **will continue to develop as an integral part of the world socialist system. The profile of its specialization will continue to be shaped predominantly within the CEMA states' community, and by means of the community, the CSSR's position will become asserted also in the world economy. A parallel active utilization of relations with third countries should strengthen the CSSR position within the CEMA community.** The long-term trends of the development of the structure of the Czechoslovak economy require in the future ensuring marked changes consisting, above all, of dynamically developing selected branches and sectors with high level of skilled work.

The Czechoslovak concept of participation in the international division of labor will proceed from the **Collective Concept of the International Socialist Division of Labor for the Years 1991 Through 2005,** which was approved by the 44th CEMA session (June 1988) and which expresses the long-term strategy of the CEMA member states and the socialist community as a whole. **We interpret the concept as a political-economic document which contains the fundamental solutions agreed on by states** and set directions for a common course to intensify the national economies and mutual cooperation with emphasis on their strongest aspects, respectively their effective restructuring. [passage omitted]

[RUDE PRAVO] **Can you name specific examples of our contribution?**

[Obzina] The CSSR's contribution to the collective concept of the socialist division of labor will link, in particular, with the previous results in the sphere of joint investment ventures (oil pipelines, gas pipelines, power engineering systems), with the development of nuclear power engineering and nuclear engineering, as well as with further specialized production branches in engineering and the chemical industry. Nuclear power engineering and nuclear engineering will also constitute in the future an important Czechoslovak contribution to resolving the CEMA member countries' fuel-energy complex. A new sphere, which should show the CSSR's marked contribution, is the production of modern machinery, technologies, and quality consumer goods. In May this year, the CSSR Government Presidium—with its decree No.42/1989—decided to prepare the production of up to 400,000 compact disc players annually in the Tesla Litovel state enterprise. Final consultations are under way on a program to boost Czechoslovakia's motorization by at least doubling the existing production of 180,000 passenger and utility automobiles. The two aforementioned programs are not only a CSSR affair, but are designed as a Czechoslovak activity in the development of the socialist division of labor.

In addition, extensive cooperation and specialization relations with the CEMA member states successfully continue in the sphere of the production of trucks and tractors, in a number of branches of the chemical industry, and in electronics and metallurgy. Here we are linking with past positive results. For example, let us recall the successful joint ventures in the development of ball bearing production.

Within the framework of the restructuring of the Czechoslovak economy, we are analyzing the possibility of submitting in 1989-1990 to the CEMA bodies, proposals for integrated cooperation among economic organizations up to the year 2005 with a distinctive Czechoslovak participation in six selected sectors. Involved is the production of:

—machinery and equipment for the textile industry,
—machine tools and forming machines,
—made-to-order electronic circuits,
—leather industry machinery and equipment,
—food industry and agricultural machinery and equipment,
—ecological equipment.

[RUDE PRAVO] **What is being planned in the sphere of production superstructure?**

[Obzina] Here, too, we have a number of important proposals:

1) canal projects linking the Danube with the Baltic Sea, the North Sea, and the Black Sea, including ensuring connections with the European waterways network,

2) proposals for proceeding further after 1995 when constructing internationally important roads, taking into consideration the long-term goal-oriented cooperation program approved in 1979,

3) proposals for the construction of new, high-speed railroad lines in the CSSR, including coordinating construction with the plans of the neighboring states and the CEMA member states,

4) proposals for augmenting the telephone systems of the member states with the aim of intensifying the existing cooperation within a framework of an appropriate multilateral agreement, and laying foundations for the development of data processing. [passage omitted]

[RUDE PRAVO] **Some people are of the opinion that the CEMA activity would be more effective if its resolutions were binding. How is it in reality?**

[Obzina] The notion that the resolutions of the CEMA bodies are not binding is mistaken. The CEMA statutes unambiguously set out the duty of the member states to implement legally valid resolutions. However, in a number of issues unanimity is needed to adopt a resolution, that is, that the resolution is legally valid when all 10 member states approve it. This is a legally and politically important and justified institution, which enables the full protection of the sovereignty and justified interests of each CEMA member state.

However, practice shows that if we do not want to fall behind the integrative processes in the world, we must not absolutize the principle of unanimity. In a certain form, this principle can become a retardant and an obstacle to the developing socialist integration. Without violating the principle of unanimity, we consider it important to consistently implement the principle of positive interest [zainteresovanosti] of the CEMA member states. One cannot identify processes of the socialist economic integration with the activity of the statutory bodies of CEMA as an international organization. This means that those CEMA member states which are interested in mutually agreed integrated projects can negotiate on a multilateral or bilateral basis—outside the CEMA bodies—international agreements which they are interested in, and their CEMA membership is not, and even cannot legally be, an obstacle. [passage omitted]

No one can be forced to take part in integrated projects, but, on the other hand, no one can be prevented from or obstructed in associating himself with advantageous integrated projects to which he voluntarily and legally agrees. [passage omitted]

PRC Organizations Conclude Contracts at Fair

AU2707134789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Jul 89 p 7

[CTK report: "Commercial Contracts"]

[Text] Beijing—The Beijing International Fair came to an end on Sunday [23 July]. In 10 days, it had been visited by 600,000 people who viewed the stands of the 3,000 exhibitors from 24 countries.

Czechoslovakia had the biggest display. Tatra trucks, a simulator for training drivers, and a mobile bakery were the main successes. Seventeen Czechoslovak foreign trade organizations concluded contracts worth Kcs450 million with Chinese partners and entered into other business deals with a value of more than Kcs6.5 billion. For example, an agreement was reached to further increase the imports of Chinese color television sets into the CSSR.

Leaders Send Congratulations to Cuba's Castro

AU2707135189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jul 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations to the Cuban People"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, Gustav Husak, CSSR president, and Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, sent Fidel Ruz Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee, chairman of the Council of State, and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, the following congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the Republic of Cuba's national day—the 36th anniversary of the Day of National Rebellion:

Dear Comrade Castro,

On behalf of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, the Government, and the people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and on our own behalf we send you, the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, and the fraternal Cuban people our warm comradely greetings and congratulations on the occasion of the Republic of Cuba's National Day—the 36th anniversary of the Day of National Rebellion.

The heroic attack on the Moncado Barracks launched the decisive stage of the Cuban people's long and just struggle for freedom, national independence, and sovereignty which culminated in the victory of the revolutionary forces in January 1959.

The Republic of Cuba is a resolute element of the socialist community and contributes significantly to strengthening its unity, to the common struggle for peace, to the struggle for international detente, and against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The Czechoslovak people are following with sincere interest the endeavors of the Cuban Communists and all working people to successfully fulfill the tasks resulting from the conclusions of the Third Communist Party of Cuba Congress, tasks which are directed toward the comprehensive development of socialist society and the defense of the homeland.

We highly esteem the constantly developing ties of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the fraternal parties and peoples of both our socialist countries. We are resolved to continue to intensify them to the benefit of the Czechoslovak and Cuban people and in the interest of the socialist cause, peace, and progress in the world.

Agreement With Vatican on Bishops Appointment

LD2607222789 Prague CTK in English
1551 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 26 (CTK)—An agreement has been reached between a Czechoslovak Government delegation and a delegation of the Vatican on the appointment of new bishops for several bishoprics in the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics.

The Czech Government at its session on July 12 granted state approval to the appointment of Josef Koukl, residential bishop of the Litomerice Diocese, and Frantisek Vanak, Bishop-Apostolic administrator of the Olomouc Archdiocese.

On the same day, the Slovak government approved the appointment of Jan Sokol, metropolitan archbishop of the Trnava Archdiocese, and Frantisek Tondra, residential bishop of the Spis Diocese.

The agreement between the delegations of the Czechoslovak Government and the Vatican on the filling of several bishoprics in the Czech and the Slovak Socialist Republic manifests the effort of the Czechoslovak state to have correct relations with the churches and solve their topical problems.

The appointment of bishops is one of the most discussed aspects of relations between the Czechoslovak state and the Roman Catholic Church. Three out of the twelve Roman Catholic dioceses in the country have formerly had their bishops and now this number will be six.

The Czechoslovak state approaches the talks with the Vatican on the appointment of new bishops from the position of goodwill on the basis of serious cooperation, open dialogue, and constructive exchange of views. Czechoslovakia is genuinely interested in the filling of the vacant bishoprics. However, it insists on the demand that the candidate has a good attitude to the state.

Czechoslovakia continues to maintain a constructive line on the discussion of candidates for further church appointments. This line is based on matter-of-fact dialogue with eccelestiastical representatives for the sake of the further improvement of relations and meeting of the needs of believers. One of its lasting principles is the inadmissibility to misuse the churches and religion for political aims directed against Czechoslovak society and the interests of the Czechoslovak people.

CPCZ Delegation Departs for Congo Visit

AU2707134089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
25 Jul 89 p 2

["(Z)"-signed report: "CPCZ Delegation Departs for the Congolese Party of Labor Congress"]

[Text] Prague—On Monday [24 July], a Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] delegation headed by Vladimir Patek, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, departed from Prague for Brazzaville where it will participate in the Fourth Congolese Labor Party Congress at the invitation of its Central Committee.

Krolikowski Gives Address at Frelimo Congress

LD2807103289 East Berlin ADN Domestic Service in German 1702 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Maputo (ADN)—Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member Werner Krolikowski has underlined the close alliance between the SED and the Frelimo [Mozambiqe Liberation Front] party and the GDR's firm solidarity with the Mozambican people in the struggle against the criminal apartheid system in South Africa. In his greetings address to the fifth Frelimo congress in Maputo today, the head of the SED delegation praised the fact that Mozambique is courageously and creatively advancing on the path of national development under very complex conditions in the interests of the people.

Turning to the relations of solidarity between the two countries, the speaker recalled that several tens of thousands of Mozambican citizens have received training as skilled workers or higher and vocational education cadres in the GDR. Krolikowski added: "Our sympathy and support goes to the broad democratic antiapartheid movement, including the ANC, [African National Council] in the struggle for a democratic, unified, nonracist South Africa, to SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] in Namibia and the struggle of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Party of Labor for peaceful conditions for Angola's national development."

"Our two parties and states agree on the fundamental view that the decisive task for the present and future of the peoples of all continents is the prevention of a nuclear inferno, of wars in general," Werner Krolikowski said. The introduced change from confrontation to detente, which had been fought for, must increasingly and everywhere determine the international climate and bilateral, regional and multilateral relations between states. The GDR politician pointed out that the positive trends in the development of the international climate are above all the result of the dynamic efforts of the USSR, the other socialist states, the Nonaligned Movement states and the world's peace forces.

It must become an unshakeable principle of international law and practical foreign policy of all states that security and peace will no longer be guaranteed in confrontation between the states, but only in cooperation, through political means on the basis of peaceful coexistence. In this sense the striving of the most aggressive circles of imperialism in the United States and NATO, which leave nothing untried in undermining the disarmament and detente process, and hurling the world back into the Cold War, must be thwarted permanently through the fighters for peace throughout the world.

All the peoples in the south of the African continent should be free to decide on their path of development. This was emphasized by Werner Krolikowski, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee during a friendly talk with Alfred Nzo, general secretary of the South African ANC. Both politicians, who are taking part as guests in the fifth Frelimo party congress in Maputo, agreed that the change from confrontation to detente should also increasingly determine regional relations between states.

Werner Krolikowski reinforced the firm solidarity of the SED and the GDR people with the struggle of the ANC and of the broad democratic antiapartheid movement for a democratic, united and nonracist South Africa. Alfred Nzo expressed his gratitude for the support of the GDR and the SED, which had been linked for many years with the freedom movement and with all South African patriots.

Also today in Maputo, Krolikowski handed over a solidarity consignment to the Frelimo Party Central Committee. The consignment, financed by donations from GDR citizens, consists mainly of foodstuffs and clothing.

Tours Maputo Export Enterprise

LD2707221789 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Werner Korlikowski, leader of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's delegation to the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] congress, had an enthusiastic meeting with Mozambican workers in Maputo today.

At the country's most important export enterprise, he praised the lasting and trusting cooperation with the GDR, which would continue in the future. A spokesman for the workforce said that the GDR had a good reputation in the company, not least because GDR technicians helped with the solution of many problems and supported the training of native specialist workers. The workers hoped that this cooperation would be further expanded.

During the tour of the factory, Werner Krolikowski had warm encounters with the workers.

Expansion of Cooperation With Sweden Advocated

AU2707084789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jul 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Expansion of Cooperation Is a Common Concern"]

[Excerpt] Stockholm (ADN)—Ingvar Bjorkman, vice president of the Sweden-GDR Friendship Society, has advocated the further expansion of cooperation between Sweden and the GDR. Since the visits to the GDR by Olof Palme and Ingvar Carlsson, and Erich Honecker's visit to Sweden, the peoples of the two states have come closer to each other, stated the long-standing local politician in an interview for ADN. The deepening of these relations in all fields must be a common concern. Ingvar Bjorkman referred to the striving of the two countries to stop the arms race and to eliminate nuclear weapons. This is the hope of all people and a common goal in the struggle for peace. Despite different social systems, there

is a vivid exchange of views, which contributes to expanding the knowledge about each other and to mutual understanding. The Swedish side appreciates such meetings, which facilitate friendly and sincere dialogue, Bjorkman said. [passage omitted]

Editorial Views FRG Adenauer Paper Controversy

AU2507163189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22-23 Jul 89 p 2

["W.M." editorial: "What Is the Adenauer Paper Good For?"]

[Text] In the FRG there is much talk about a secret document. It is a statement by former Bonn Chancellor Adenauer from the early fifties, in which, addressing the Western power, he allegedly renounced the claim on the Western territories of Poland, which had belonged to the German Reich in the past. Obviously, the excitement around the Adenauer paper is intended to give the impression that this document establishes whether the demands made by Waigel, Wallmann, and other representatives of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union for the borders of 1937 are legitimate or not.

Of course, this is an enormous error and has nothing to do with the reality. The documents relevant for the Oder-Neisse border are not secret papers and are accessible for everyone. There is the Potsdam Agreement of 1945, in which the victorious powers of World War II set down the German-Polish border at the Oder and Neisse Rivers. The second document that is decisive on this issue dates back to the early fifties but it was not signed by the then FRG chancellor but by the responsible heads of government of the two neighboring states at the Oder and Neisse Rivers: Otto Grotewohl and Jozef Cyrankiewicz. With the Zgorzelec agreement the new peace-loving German state, the GDR, and the People's Republic of Poland recognized the Oder-Neisse border as a peace border between the two peoples under international law.

Thus, in 1951 everything necessary concerning the border questions was bindingly decided and contractually settled. This was then confirmed by several other documents—thus, 20 years later in the treaty of Warsaw, which was signed for the FRG by Chancellor Brandt; thus, in 1975, multilaterally, in the Helsinki Final Act, with the basic principles of territorial integrity of all European states and the inviolability of their borders.

Other statements in this matter—regardless of whether they are made by FRG chancellors, their Federal Constitutional Court, or somebody else—do not change the facts of international law, but clearly demonstrate the political attitude of their authors. Whoever in the FRG questions the Oder-Neisse border should take into account that the FRG borders on the GDR in the East and not on Poland. Therefore, it is particularly important to reliably protect the border at the Elbe and Werra Rivers—for our own security but also in the interest of the Polish people and of all peoples in Europe.

Collection of Works by Honecker To Be Published

AU2707085189

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 26 July on page 2 carries a 200-word report announcing the publication by Dietz Verlag, Berlin, of a collection of works by Erich Honecker from February 1979 to January 1989, entitled "For a Worldwide Coalition of Reason and Realism," and of the documents of the "Session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact States, Bucharest, 7-8 July 1989."

Council of Ministers Meets, Assesses Bush Visit

LD2707210589 Budapest MTI in English 1852 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 27 (MTI)—At its Thursday session, the Hungarian Council of Ministers heard a report on the visit to Hungary of George Bush, President of the United States of America, and the Bucharest session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

The government discussed the refinancing credit construction related to the sale of state-owned property, accepted the principles of the trade law, surveyed the economic, employment and ecological tasks related to the closure of a bauxite mine in Nyirad, and heard a report on the options for utilizing the ore resources at Recsk.

After the government session, Zsolt Bajnok, acting government spokesman, said the government had heard a report on the visit to Hungary of US President George Bush and evaluated it as positive, useful and complying with Hungary's expectations and interests.

The government also surveyed the conclusions from the Bucharest session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty. The security of member states can already by guaranteed by political, non-military means, confidence is strengthening between East and West, and it is no longer utopian to say that the cold war has come to an end: All these things are positive conclusions, the spokesman said. Particularly important for Hungary were Gorbachev's statements that renewing socialism and completing the reform processes were priorities and that the Brezhnev Doctrine was already a thing of the past.

The government discussed the principles of the trade law. Under its terms, all commercial activities, including foreign trade, will be free, provided they comply with the Constitution and the rules of competition. The draft principles envisage a number of guarantees for the protection of consumers.

The government then went on to discuss personnel affairs. At the proposal of the minister of transport, telecommunications and construction, the government appointed Bela Doros, deputy director-general of the Hungarian Post Office, and Sandor Kalnoki Kis, director of the Institute for City Design, as deputy ministers from August 1.

Concerning Recsk ore mine, minister of industry Ferenc Horvath said that only maintenance work had gone on there since 1982, and the talks with Soviet partners on the common utilization of the resources, worth 7,000 million forints, had ended in failure. Consequently, the government is in search of new partners.

Spokesman on Government Session

LD2707213189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Our reporter, Gabor Bankuti, reports on the session of government.

[Bankuti] [Passage omitted] At the government session, which was somewhat shorter than normal—it lasted 3 and ½ hours—Peter Medgyessy was in the chair instead of Miklos Nemeth, who is on holiday. My first question to government spokesman Zsolt Bajnok was whether anything was said in the briefing on the visit by U.S. President Bush, and on the Bucharest session of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee, which we did not hear in the past.

[Begin recording] [Bajnok] Perhaps I could say that emphatic mention was made of the proposal by the U.S. President that our country should provide a home for the East and Central European international environmental protection centre, which we would create with the collaboration of the United States. Mainly the Ministry of Environmental Protection indicated that they consider it a very important initiative; they welcome it with special pleasure, and are working ambitiously on the preparatory work that falls on us. [passage omitted]

[Bankuti] The president of Hungarian Television recently announced, or stated, that henceforth parliamentary relays will be stopped. Many people interpret this as backtracking from the policy of openness, all the more so because Hungarian Television is supervised by the government. Was there a government decision on this? What does government say to this, and how did it happen?

[Banjok] It is stopping continuous, direct relays, and it will replace these with shorter reports, and then, during main program-time, with a detailed roundup. Irrespective of this, of course, the question could also arise whether where is a narrowing down of the inforamtion that is given. I recommend that the justification be thought over, namely that nowadays there obviously are fewer viewers of these on-the-spot relays in the morning, the midday and early afternoon hours. Insofar as we are familiar with Television's material situation, perhaps material considerations played a role in this decision.

Government's supervision over Television does not whatsoever mean that government would have to approve, individually, the changing or stopping of a program-form, or the introduction of a new form of program or report. To my knowledge, there was no such consultation with government.

At the same time, my conviciton is that if, after all, the demand arises, primarily from the viewing audience, that they want to follow the entire session of the National Assembly via direct relays, on-the-spot relays, obviously the president of Television will assess the demand, and if possible, will fulfil it, too. [end recording]

Central Committee Session Scheduled for 28 Jul

LD2707165389 Budapest MTI in English 1201 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 27 (MTI)—The session of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party/MSZMP] Central Committee has been convened by the Political Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for Friday, July 28.

The body is to formulate its standpoint on the preparations for the forthcoming party congress to be held in autumn this year. This will be followed by a debate over the draft position to be put forward on the relation between the party, churches and religion. The body will also hear a report on international issues, and continue to decide on other issues in its competence.

Roundtable Talks Continue 27 Jul, Issues Debated

LD2707230389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Excerpts] In the parliament building, the national roundtable discussions have continued on a medium level. Jozsef Orosz reports.

[Orosz] [Passage omitted] At the request of the opposition roundtable, the 50 million forint state support for parties has been frozen, for this burdens the treasury, which is on the verge of collapse. The final standpoint of the opposition roundtable is that the multiparty system should not cost more than the one-party system.

Neither was any advance of merit achieved on the question of whether or not workplaces should be the scene of party battles. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] stand is that it is willing to withdraw from workplaces, but the technical process of this requires further talks, and the withdrawal of forces can only be envisaged as a long process. The opposition roundtable caricatured this situation by saying that with this the MSZMP was saying nothing other than that it wished to withdraw in the same length of time in which it went into the workplaces.

There was agreement, however, on the question of people who occupy leading party functions not being able to take on service in the armed forces.

The MSZMP would have liked an agreement in today's talks on the institution of the president of the republic. However, the opposition roundtable says that the creation of this constitutional dignitary will be the task of the new parliament. The opposition evaluates the MSZMP stance as wanting to salvage its own power for a further 6 years into the institution of the highest constitutional dignitary through Imre Pozsgay.

When debating the parliament at today's talks, Gyorgy Szabad, the representative of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, read out a proclamation. According to their information, the MSZMP parliamentary deputies' group is preparing for a so-caliled parliamentary putsch in the autumn. They hope to achieve the dissolution of parliament. This would mean that extraordinary elections would have to be held, in which there would be no doubt as to which party could take the stage with full armor. To this point raised by Gyorgy Szabad, the MSZMP negotiating delegation reacted by saying that this should have been submitted in writing and not read out by Gyorgy Szabad.

On the third agenda point, the sphere of questions regarding the modification of the Constitution, the stances came closer to each other. On the basis of the news leaked about the closed talks in the early evening phase of the talks, it could be concluded that there had been more than a stalemate situation, and the opposition would even have left the talks. In the end, this did not happen, but surprisingly—for up to now this has not been the case—the representatives of the opposition roundtable gave a statement. In a word, they put the way the talks went—or rather, on the basis of today's experiences, the way they did not—before public opinion.

Talks Fail To Reach Compromise

LD2707225389 Budapest MTI in English 1930 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 27 (MTI)—The parties to the Thursday round of medium-level political coordination talks failed to reach a compromise on the division of the property of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party/MSZMP], the financial support of parties, and their operation at places of employment. Since the talks took place behind closed doors, journalists could not only obtain indirect information.

According to MTI's information, the opposition roundtable proposed drawing up an inventory of the property of all parties and social organizations, and imposing a moratorium on it so that it should not be sold off as has happened on some occasions recently. The opposition is of the view that any budgetary support to the parties would syphon off resources from elsewhere, perhaps even from the population. They emphasized that the property of the HSWP should be divided under a certain quota this year before the elections. After the elections, parliament could pass further decisions and create appropriate proportions between the financial support of all parties and social organizations.

According to available information, the HSWP representatives made a distinction between party property and budgetary support to parties. The HSWP regards its property as its own and not public property as the opposition claims, and it will not renounce it.

The opposition proposed that the presence of parties should be banned by law from places of employment. The HSWP felt it was needless to regulate this issue by law, and emphasized that it should be up to each party whether it functions at places of work.

MTI has learnt that the third side, which was previously prepared for a consensus with the opposition, supported

the position of the HSWP on the division of property and the operation of parties at places of employment.

Solidarity Trade Union Set Up in Factory

LD2707210289 Budapest MTI in English 1910 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 27 (MTI)—A solidarity trade union was set up on Thursday at a workers' rally in the Tatabanya unit of Beloiannis telecommunications factory.

Spokesman Andras Takacs of the Solidarity Trade Union Workers' Federation said that these independent and autonomous organizations are being founded all over the country. Their emergence, he said, could be attributed to the lack of genuine interest representation, the danger of unemployment, the downgrading of productive work, and deteriorating living conditions.

Contributors to the rally spoke with indignation about the fact that stewards have to sign previously compiled lists on pay rises and that, with reference to shortage of funds, workers do not receive protective clothing or toiletry articles, although it is stipulated in the collective agreement that they should.

Increasing Trade Activity With Austria Noted

AU2507180389 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 24 Jul 89 p 8

[APA report: "Trade With Hungary Has Been Intensified"]

[Text] Vienna—After years of decline and stagnation, foreign trade activities are increasing again this year. This was announced by Deputy Hungarian Trade Delegate Matyas Loidl.

During the first 5 months of this year Austrian exports to Hungary involved 3.14 billion schillings, which corresponds to a 33.6 percent increase over the same period last year. Hungarian exports amounted to 2.9 billion schillings, which corresponds to an increase of 31.6 percent.

The percentage of products from the processing industry has increased significantly. Despite this tendency, however, 70 to 80 percent of the Hungarian products exported to Austria are raw materials or semi-finished products, the Hungarian trade delegate pointed out.

Argentine Envoy on Missile Sale to Romania

LD2707205389 Budapest MTI in English 1318 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 27 (MTI)—Relations between Hungary and Argentina are developing favourably, and are not adversely affected from Argentina. Arnoldo Manuel Listre, ambassador to Hungary of the Argentine Republic said such rumours were unfounded and the Hungarian leadership has been informed by the Argentine Government accordingly, added the ambassador, who is shortly to leave his post in Hungary.

Mr Listre emphasized that the new leadership which recently came to power in Argentina, intends to continue to foster good relations with Hungary, as in the past. In spite of the development of political and cultural relations, difficulties are emerging in the field of economic and trade cooperation. The difficulties, however, cannot be ascribed to the lack of intent by the persons responsible, but the fact that both countries have to overcome grave economic difficulties.

Statistics of Border Crossing Attempts Noted

LD2507125389 Budapest MTI in English 0959 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 25 (MTI)—In the first half of the year, citizens of the GDR made 550 attempts to illegally cross the border of the Hungarian People's Republic, MTI has been told by the Press Department of the Ministry of the Interior in Budapest.

Under the current penal code, an attempt at illegal crossing is considered a criminal offence eliciting legal action. If the offence is committed by a foreign citizen, their travelling papers may be recalled under the provision pertaining to foreigners' staying in Hungary. In such a case, Hungarian authorities recall the permission, but they do not indicate the offence in the foreigner's travelling papers. If a citizen of the GDR is involved, Hungarian authorities contact the Budapest embassy of the GDR in accord with the provisions of an agreement abolishing the compulsory visa system between the two countries.

Interior Ministry officials wish to stress that in spite of the dismantling of the electoral alarm system along the western borderline of Hungary they want to ensure the inviolability of the borders of the Hungarian People's Republic. To avoid undesirable consequences they request the citizens of the GDR and other countries to observe pertaining regulations. At the same time, the border guard service wishes to ensure the speedy entry and exit at every crossing station for all foreign citizens holding valid passports.

New Treatment Demanded for Escapees

LD2707163889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2200 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] The Alliance of Free Democrats and the refugee committee demand that Hungarian border guards not stamp a special mark on the passports of those GDR citizens who, presumably, want to escape to Austria via Hungary. In their joint statement they argue that those involved are punished with serious retaliation in their homeland because the GDR authorities categorize the presumed intention to leave the country without permission as a political crime. They would also like the Hungarian Interior Ministry organs not to provide data on those GDR citizens who commit an offense against border regulations and in their view the operation of the Alien's Registration Office would also need to be comprehensibly reviewed at last.

Baka Submits Resignation to Central Committee
LD2807131389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1232 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Report from Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 28 July]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Professor Wladyslaw Baka has submitted his resignation from the post of the economic secretary of the party Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Jaruzelski Gives Address to Resumed Party Plenum
LD2807101489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Shortly after 1000, the second part of the 13th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee plenum began. Even before the opening of the proceedings, Wojciech Jaruzelski received congratulations from members of the Central Committee in connection with his election to the post of president of the Polish People Repubic. Opening the proceedings, the Central Committee first secretary said that we have gathered at one of the most important Central Committee plenums since the 10th congress.

The attention of the whole party and a considerable section of working people of our country is once again concentrated on this hall. This is because we will be examining various political issues of the greatest importance, Wojciech Jaruzelski said. In this debate, we must not, however, break from matters which absorb society today, in the summer of 1989. We ought to conduct an honest, even painful, assessment of the situation in which we find ourselves after the roundtable deliberations, Wojciech Jaruzelski emphasized. We ought to answer the basic question of what, as a party, we support, which solutions in political and economic life we will be initiating and supporting, and what we are opposed to and what we will be fighting against. This is what members of the PZPR and a considerable section of the working people await from us.

Next, the Central Committee first secretary proposed the agenda, which is composed of introductions to the discussion, the introduction by Janusz Reykowski on the subject of an assessment of the elections to the Sejm and Senate, and next, that of Marian Orzechowski, on the problems of the [word indistinct] of the party and, thirdly, a speech by Wladyslaw Baka on the country's economic situation and the directions of its improvement. After a short discussion, the agenda proposed by the Central Committee first secretary was accepted, and a commission of Resolutions of the 13th plenum was appointed.

Politburo Member Citizen Janusz Reykowski read a sort of condensed auto-report in which he presented the main points of a Politburo document for the second part of the 13th plenum. The text of the report had been distributed beforehand to the participants in the debates.

He drew attention to the fact that the decision to hold elections and the linked concept of a new form of (?Polish) state authorities was the result of a new strategy by the party [word indistinct] at the 10th Central Committee Plenum. This was essential due to the methods of rule employed to date, which has its roots in the forties and [passage indistinct].

It was therefore decided that a basic restructuring of the political system was an urgent necessity. The main goal of the restructuring has to be the implementation of changes to guarantee the strengthening of the socialist state, (?making it) capable of carrying out essential economic reforms. The strengthening of the state is not possible if significant parts of society [passage indistinct].

He also pointed out the weakness of the party as a participant in political battles, and mistakes made in planning the campaign and in the way it was conducted. From these mistakes (?one can draw conclusions) which underline that this strategy turned out to be positive, in the end, since it permits (?revolutonary) changes to take place. But it is impossible not to notice that the dangerous effect of this (?second choice) is a certain weakening of the government-coalition ties and that it has also had a great and negative influence on the party itself—which must have had something to do with depressing the mood within party ranks.

And this is all in our report on the main themes of the politburo report on the election campaign.

Marian Orzechowski also spoke about the problems and the future of the party. His address concluded just a moment ago.

Jaruzelski Meets Various Organizations' Leaders
LD2707194889 Warsaw PAP in English 1757 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 27—President Wojciech Jaruzelski met here today with representatives of youth organizations: chairman of the main board of the Union of the Polish Socialist Youth (ZSMP) Grzegorz Dittrich, chairman of the national board of the Union of Rural Youth Roman Kupijaj, commandant of the Polish Pathfinders' Union Krzysztof Grzebyk, chairman of the main council of the Association of Polish Students Marek Jozefiak and the secretary of the national convent of the Union of Democratic Youth Marlena Janczak.

During the talks, the sides discussed matters concerning the formation of a new government. Leaders of the youth organizations stressed that the composition of the government and central bodies should to a greater degree take into account young people having appropriate abilities to perform duties on such a high level.

They also came out with a motion that in order to reach full normalization of social life in higher schools it is necessary to solve the problem of registration of the Independent

Student's Union. Taking into regard that the registration on the poste for certain changes in the law on associations, representatives of youth organizations asked for the shortening of the legislative process to the minimum. [sentence as received] The president welcomed the forwarded opinions and motions with understanding.

On the same day, continuing consultations on the new government, President Wojciech Jaruzelski met here today with vice-chairwomen of the main board of the League of Polish Women Zofia Bojarska-Zygler and Elzbieta Gacek and the organization's secretary Elzbieta Luszczynska.

Representatives of the League of Polish Women pointed to the difficult situation of Polish families and stressed that more women in the central administration bodies would contribute to better work of the state organism.

The president received the forwarded assessments and postulates with understanding.

Group Leaders on Meeting

LD2707221389 Warsaw PAP in English 2155 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 27—Persons consulted by President Wojciech Jaruzelski today told PAP:

Marek Jozefiak, Chairman of the ZSP Polish Students Union

The president told us about his plans concerning the nomination of prime minister. I was in favour of a grand coalition government though this seems rather unfeasible. Nevertheless, any cabinet must include young people.

Various things are being said about the outgoing government, yet I expressed recognition for its open and dynamic policy in the socio-political field. These problems were tackled by Aleksander Kwasniewski, the youngest minister. I also raised one particular problem: the registration of the Independent Student Union NZS. I believe that if this is impossible under the present law, the Sejm should make amendments in the Law on Associations. The president was positive, he wrote down this postulate and promised to be personally interested in this issue.

Grzegorz Dittrich, ZSMP Socialist Polish Youth Union Chairman

During our meeting with President Jaruzelski we presented our point of view on the composition of a new government and we voiced the opinion that a major shift of generations is needed on state posts. Together with the president we came to a conclusion that it is necessary to activate the young people who are working for people's councils of all levels.

Roman Kupijaj, Leader of Rural Youth Union ZMW

During the meeting with the president I raised first of all two problems on behalf of our union, which are part of the situation in rural community, especially the situation of young farmers and young rural population.

We believe that one of the important tasks of a new government, the prime minister, minister of agriculture, must be a comprehensive help to young farmers. I informed Wojciech Jaruzelski that deputies of the Rural Youth Union would initiate the drafting and adoption of a law on young farmers.

Elzbieta Luszczynska, secretary of Polish Women's League LKP

The fact that at such a crucial moment Polish women were noticed and consulted is, I believe, a sign of recognition to women as an opinion-making force in society. It is also noticing the professional qualifications and educational status of women in this country.

When talking with the president we pointed to the fact that there are economy branches where women produce the national income. Hence, they should have more say about their functioning and development prospects. Women's representation would be justified.

Jozef Slisz, Chairman of Provisional National Council of Private Farmers' Solidarity

The president told me what is his conception of a government based on grand coalition: We, that is the opposition-Solidarity side, should accept the post of first vice-premier and 5-6 portfolios. The rest should go to other political groups. I told the president that this, in my opinion, is unacceptable for us.

I told the president that the government should be formed by the Solidarity-opposition side. I added that I meant the entire cabinet, including the minister of internal affairs, and national defence.

In the end of the meeting I had an impression that the question of government remains open. The president mentioned a handful of names of potential candidates for premiership, which I would not wish to disclose now. I think General Jaruzelski wants to form a good government but I do not know if he is going to make it.

Solidarity's Michnik Assesses Jaruzelski Election

AU2707125789 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 20 Jul 89 p 1

[Untitled commentary by Adam Michnik]

[Text] If the president of Poland were to be elected by way of universal voting, there is no doubt that Lech Walesa would be president. There was surely no one among the deputies and senators who had any doubts about this.

General Jaruzelski was elected by a margin of one vote, but the voice of Lech Walesa, who was not present in the hall, was of fundamental importance. Lech Walesa had said that the president should be elected quickly and that he should be a coalition candidate.

President Jaruzelski was elected with the lowest possible majority. This means that an enormous section of the National Assembly, which was not, after all, elected completely democratically, considered it appropriate to vote against the candidacy.

The elections were public. So I will not be divulging any secrets if I say that a certain number of coalition deputies did not vote for the general and that a certain number of Solidarity deputies did not vote against the general. Everyone voted according to the dictates of his conscience and his civic-minded understanding of the situation. In this sense, the election was fair, and it represents an important new element in our public life.

The Poles showed that they have a negative attitude toward the policy line that was pursued after 13 December and which the General symbolizes. At the same time, they displayed concern for the stability of the state.

This places a particular responsibility on General Jaruzelski.

I do not think that I am distorting things by saying that the great majority of deputies in the National Assembly came out in favor of an evolution toward democracy and that the next elections, both the National Assembly and presidential elections, should be completely free.

On this occasion there was one candidate to vote for. He is a politician with a complicated history: the architect of martial law, which was introduced on 13 December 1981, as well as a co-architect of the roundtable accord. How he behaves now will determine whether he goes down in the history textbooks as the man who was responsible for the intervention in Czechoslovakia and the shooting of workers, or also as the man who managed to effect a bold political reorientation and became one of the architects of the Polish road from totalitarian communism to democracy.

What will happen now? We all have a duty to work for democratic change. Poland finds itself in an exceptional international situation, and the Poles have an opportunity to build a democratic state. The presidential election has shown that Poles are capable of reaching agreement, but such agreement has to be the product of a pact in support of democracy and against the conservative structures of the nomenklatura.

What does outcome of the election mean for ordinary people in Poland, those who are waiting in lines and are deeply worried about soaring prices? Nothing. However, it will be these people who will present a bill to the deputies, senators, generals and ministers, as well as the president, if a process for saving the country from ruin will not be set in motion. The fundamental key to change is in the hands of the president

Ex-Solidarity Adviser on Post-Election Scene

PM2807083989 Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish 7 Jul 89 p 13

[Interview with Counselor Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, former Solidarity adviser, government coalition adviser during the March-April roundtable talks, chairman of the Christian-Democratic Labor Party Main Board Executive Committee, by PERSPEKTYWY correspondent Michal Kosin; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Why did he lose and why did he find himself outside Lech Walesa's team? What future awaits us: a great coalition or a great divide? What kind of help does Poland need and what price could we pay for showing insufficient common sense and goodwill? These and several other issues were the subject of our interview with Counselor Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki.

[Kosin] After the results of the first election round were announced, a reporter asked you about the reason for your personal defeat. You told him, "It was impossible to win the election against candidates from the Citizens Committee." Are you still of the same opinion today?

[Sila-Nowicki] Yes, unreservedly. A few days before the elections the NEW YORK TIMES correspondent was reported to say that the atmosphere in Poland was such that even a cow would be elected senator if it had the word "Solidarity" written across its back. And this comment reflects the essence of the problem better than any other.

[Kosin] Am I to understand that for you also the outcome of the elections was obvious even before the elections took place?

[Sila-Nowicki] No. I was not so much of a clairvoyant. When I announced that I would run as candidate in the elections I did not know that I my position was already irrevocably doomed. I took a variety of factors into consideration and I even allowed for a heavy defeat already in the first round, but not such an overwhelming defeat. However, I can console myself with the thought that no one, not even the winners themselves, expected such an absolute triumph of the side running under the Solidarity banner—for, after all, the Citizens Committee is only a facade.

[Kosin] What was the deciding factor?

[Sila-Nowicki] The elections turned into a form of plebiscite affording the public an opportunity to demonstrate its opposition to the authorities. To put it simply, people

vented their frustration in this way after a prolonged period during which they could no nothing constructive themselves. It was their retaliation for the past.

[Kosin] How did it come about that, after having been so strongly involved and identified with Solidarity, you did not run as a candidate representing the Citizens Committee?

[Sila-Nowicki] You talk about my involvement with Solidarity as if it were a thing of the past. This is a misunderstanding. I should still be identified with Solidarity. In my opinion, people who represented Solidarity at the roundtable do not stand for the movement as a whole. I maintain that the union should go back to its ideological position of August 1980 and the subsequent years, that is, to become again a movement of a pluralist nature and democratic methods of action. After all, my own relationship with Lech Walesa involved frequent differences of opinion. We were often, as they say, at each other's throat. This tolerance for other people's views and opinions became lost somewhere along the way. I believe that I still represent Solidarity's old ideals, to which we should all return as soon as possible, and I hope that Lech Walesa will return to them too.

[Kosin] What was the significance of your acceptance of a seat on the Consultative Council?

[Sila-Nowicki] I joined the council against Walesa's advice. Those who criticized me for it at the time argued that the then government was not a fit partner to talk with and that the only course of action open to us was to fight the government. But I am a pragmatist and a lawyer; I was an army officer before the war; I fought in the last war; and I was also a member of the underground resistance movement. All that experience has taught me that there are only two courses of action to be followed in public life: You either talk to your political adversary or you shoot at him. The latter choice means, of course, that the adversary will shoot at you in return.

[Kosin] But that was in 1986, whereas today the situation is diametrically different. After all, it was you who cleared the path leading us to the present solutions...

[Sila-Nowicki] Precisely. I can understand my adversaries in Solidarity taking an opposing stand 3 years ago. It was, in my opinion, wrong but understandable. But today, when those same people are so deeply involved in forging an agreement with the government, their criticism of my position in 1986 exposes them to ridicule. They are, after all, doing the same thing today—and on a much larger scale—as I was doing then. This means that it was not I who went over to their positions but they who came over to mine. All they can say is that they function on a delayed-action trigger.

[Kosin] This explains fully why there was no room for you in Lech Walesa's team. But why did you decide to run against Jacek Kuron of all people?

[Sila-Nowicki] My choice of rival was not haphazard. From the beginning of the election campaign I highlighted the fact that we were divided by an ideological conflict. My position is that democracy can be achieved only by democratic methods. Consequently, I cannot condone the methods employed by the opposition-favoring faction within Solidarity that is at present grouped round Walesa. In my view, these methods are identical with those employed by the party in the past decades. They are also encouraged by the fact that the Solidarity group in question has obtained from the government a monopoly on opposition activity. I spoke about this back during the first roundtable session, and I pointed out that the opposition side represented neither the whole of Solidarity nor the entire spectrum of Polish opposition. I emphasized the dangers inherent in this situation, where the side holding a monopoly on power is pitched against the side holding a monopoly on opposition.

[Kosin] What are those dangers?

[Sila-Nowicki] I believe that a situation in which the state authorities offer any group the right to hold a monopoly on political opposition will inevitably result in that group's losing its opposition character. This is why I keep clamoring for a return to the ideals we embraced in August 1980.

[Kosin] Let us go back to our crucial question. What are the chances of the two leading parliamentary forces—that is, the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and the Solidarity Citizens Committee—arriving at a mutual agreement? In other words, what prospect are we facing: that of a grand coalition or a grand division?

[Sila-Nowicki] At the moment it is difficult to make predictions on how the situation may yet develop because the elections, which were not expected to be of a confrontational nature, did in fact turn out to be extremely confrontational and were virtually transformed into a plebiscite in which society as a whole was supposed to state whether or not it approved of the government. The unequivocally negative answer which was revealed 4 June is, of course, a serious setback for the government. But at the same time it also placed Solidarity in a very awkward situation: It will now find it difficult to avoid having to shoulder a significant share of responsibility for the future course of events in the country.

[Kosin] Is the present, postelection political landscape a reflection of a reasonably stable configuration of political forces in Poland or is it rather a mirror image of the prevalent public feelings of the moment?

[Sila-Nowicki] It seems to me that the election results and the present situation are predominantly an expression of the feeling of hostility toward the authorities on the part of the general public. These feelings are largely generated by our economic situation and the difficulties of our daily life, which are felt acutely by the vast majority of the people.

[Kosin] We are surrounded on all sides by slogans, promises, and programs—in other words, a political campaign of words. People seem to have come to accept the reality of the political transformations and believe in their lasting character. What about the economic situation?

[Sila-Nowicki] We can only hope for an improvement of our economic situation without the public suffering any further decline in living standards or having to make new sacrifices if we receive assistance from the West. The scale of such assistance would have to be immeasurably larger than that we are receiving now, and comparable with, say, the assistance Germany received through the Marshall Plan.

[Kosin] If this is the truth about our economy, who should be the one to break it to the people?

[Sila-Nowicki] Whoever does break it to the people, the news will certainly be received with dismay.

[Kosin] In an interview granted to ZYCIE WARSZAWY Prof Adam Bromke predicted that the political contract agreed and sealed in the roundtable talks would not stand the test of 4 years. He gave it 2 years at the most. What do you think?

[Sila-Nowicki] I cannot undertake to speculate on this question. There could be a number of different solutions. One thing is certain: The political division which has become apparent as a result of the elections constitutes a fairly representative illustration of public feelings, but it does not reflect the true or permanent configuration of political forces. What we need is not a bipartite alignment of power but an authentic political pluralism.

[Kosin] We are now facing several weeks of unique and intense political experience. That much we can predict. What should be our wishes for all of us and, even more importantly, for the chief players on our political stage during that period?

[Sila-Nowicki] We should wish them much common sense and a true will to arrive at an agreement, for a lack of these virtues could prove simply incalculably disastrous for Poland.

[Kosin] Thank you for talking to us.

Rakowski Interviewed on Economic Reform

AU2707163789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jul 89 pp 1,3

[Interview with Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski by TRYBUNA LUDU's Jerzy Sieradzinski: "Tough Economic Reforms and Sensitivity to Human Grievances Are Inseparable Parts of the Same Policy"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Sieradzinski] Comrade Premier, do you realize that the government is being criticized for causing what is being more and more frequently described as a catastrophic economic situation?

[Rakowski] I do have eyes and ears, and I keep them open. There are various reasons for the criticism addressed to the government, and those voicing this criticism have various reasons for doing so. However, most of the criticism is biased, usually dictated by political motivations and intentions rather than a desire to make an objective analysis of what my government has done during the last 9 months.

The following thought presents itself: I fear that because the economic situation is going to be difficult over the next few years, and hence, we will not avoid the dissatisfaction of various professional milieus, each successive government will be faced with the same problems as we. Criticizing and overthrowing governments may turn out to be just another way of dealing with difficulties, a way that is ineffective, but apparently the easiest. As a result, new governments will continue to appear, each with its own new program of repairing the socioeconomic situation, and not one of them will be able to fulfill its plans.

Today is not the first time I have said that time is the most important factor in the Polish reforms. One cannot change even in the space of a few years an economic system that has lasted for decades. Whoever claims one can is deceiving society.

In order for anything in Poland to succeed, one must demand from society and its political representatives something that is most difficult: patience. I wish to point out that in my first Sejm speech, I made the success of the Polish economic restructuring program dependent on society's acceptance of a few basic conditions. In the end, not one of them was really accepted. Please also examine my speech at the National Conference of Party Delegates. There is not a single speech of mine which contains impossible promises.

However, as far as catastrophe is concerned, we can describe it as a phenomenon caused by an accumulation of errors and discrepancies in economic policy over entire decades, which cannot be eliminated in a short period. To this one must add the effects of the processes of the 1980's, such as debt, economic sanctions, and so on, which have wrought havoc on the economy and social life.

Everyone knows very well that when a house is being refurbished, the mess is greater than it was before the refurbishment started. The fact that we have treated ourselves to two new red-letter days this year also means something: It means a Z400 billion fall in the value of industrial output (in other words, Z200 billion for each day).

[Sieradzinski] You were welcomed to your office with a round of applause, and 9 months later you are resigning to the sound of whistles.

[Rakowski] One does not have to be philosophical in order to accustom oneself to whistles. I read a lot of articles on economic and social policy, and I wonder

when the nation's intellectual elite will finally begin to write about the need for hard work, call for an honest discharge of duties, begin to struggle against society's feeling of powerlessness, and propagate model, citizen-like attitudes.

What surprises me the most in the ar icles I have read is a tendency to list existing problems painstakingly and blame them exclusively on the authorities. Is it not surprising that in recent weeks, our distinguished guest, U.S. President George Bush, is the person who has said more than anyone else about work, essential sacrifices, and the achievement of new qualities in our socioeconomic system?

[Sieradzinski] Let us get back to the work of your government.

[Rakowski] The government led to the Ninth Sejm's adoption of a package of laws which caused fundamental changes to our entire economic model. This work of the government's was written about with great praise a few months ago. Should I quote some of the epithets applied to us and me personally? When hearing them, I did not get emotional. Similarly, today I am listening to the all-out criticism of the government from the very same people quite calmly. Before, they wrote about the "reformist Rakowski government." Now they are writing about his departure in "disgrace." Surprising.

I think that in the space of a few months, the government built solid foundations beneath fundamental changes to the economy and to sociopolitical life. As far as the economy is concerned, it is worth remembering that a real restructuring of industry is not just a question of an appropriate act or decree. What about breaking up the powerful monopolies? That involves creating a market, competition, and so on. Is it really so difficult to understand that?

It is also surprising that the processes initiated by the 10th Plenum of the Polish United Workers Party, [PZPR] are being glossed over. Unless there is something wrong with my memory, I remember playing a very active role at this plenum in establishing a new way of looking at reality by the party and a program of action that led us to the round table. However, that is not all. Before and during the round table, the government made all sorts of decisions and presented legislation that created a qualitatively new political situation, one that is favorable for Poland.

However, many important, essential, and justified decisions do not always bring positive results. Let us take passports as an example. It was the government's idea to change the passport policy. A passport that every citizen may buy and keep at home is no doubt a major step in expanding civic rights. Fine, but the result of this decision is widescale trading by Polish citizens abroad, which does not always bring us praise. A person gets his passport out of his drawer, goes where he wants, and indulges in trade with whatever goods to which he has access. In recent weeks we have been forced to introduce in some regions a ban on taking detergents out of Poland, otherwise our market in these commodities might have collapsed.

Let us take another example: In response to general, and one might even say national, demand, economic activity has been freed from the restrictions imposed on producers, especially enterprises. This liberation is a fact, even if it is belated. And what are its effects? They are various. There are enterprises that make judicious use of their new-found freedom, but there also ones which increase their wages without the slightest justification in the form of greater productivity. They do it just to please the workers and have peace and quiet. Well, they grant all these increases, and later we hear consumers rightly complaining about rocketing prices, and these complaints are keenly heard by strike organizers.

By the way, there has not been a single day without a strike since February. Strikes are resorted to in a carefree manner in Poland. As we know, they cause not only tangible economic harm, but introduce social unrest, destabilization, and so on.

However, let us get back to enterprises. They increase the wages of their workers generously. Someone might say that if that is the case, then we should create a tax system which does not allow such a free-for-all. That is correct, but in order to create such a system one must first of all accumulate experience, especially at a time of new economic policy. I must also remind you that in its economic policy, the government is largely under the Sejm's control, and rightly so. Legislative changes also do not occur overnight.

[Sieradzinski] The work of companies is being generally criticized. It is held that these are parasitic organizations, managed by schemers.

[Rakowski] I have heard that view before. We in the government are carefully monitoring criticism of companies. What is more, every sign of an abuse of power by the owners of companies or by their shareholders is carefully examined by our control services. Maybe it is a fault of mine, but as far as the government's role in the economic life of the country is concerned, I am opposed to firing from the hip, just as I am opposed to performing demagogy against an economic background. First it is necessary to acquaint oneself thoroughly with a particular phenomenon, and only then can appropriate activity be undertaken. I remember what we failed to do with the handicrafts industry. Once the green light was lit, then the red, then the green again, and so on all the time. On several occasions, important economic decisions with far-reaching effects were made under the influence of some superficial, short-term goal, and so on.

Right now we are carefully examining the legal and fiscal framework within which companies act, in order to prevent them from abusing their rights. I suggest we

approach this matter without emotion, mindful of two aspects. Economic offenses have accompanied mankind throughout history. They are quite simply inevitable. All that can be done is to create the kind of law that narrows down the scope of schemers and profiteers.

The second, troublesome aspect applies to the specific conditions under which we live. Several years ago, the Hungarian economist Kornay said that a socialist economy is an economy of shortages. I think this thesis is a correct one. We have an economy of acute shortages in Poland today. There is always a shortage of something, for various reasons. In such a situation, speculation is unfortunately an unavoidable evil.

[Sieradzinski] Reprivatization is another topic causing heated debate and disputes.

[Rakowski] I think the debate on the subject of the type of ownership in socialism is only just beginning and is closely connected with the reform of the economy, in other words, with the emergence of a new situation in social life as well. I personally do not use the term reprivatization, because I consider it misleading. I prefer other terms, such as a socialization of what is actually state property that is frequently treated as belonging to no one. I consider the ideas voiced here and there about the transfer of factories, especially in key industries, to private hands as an obvious misunderstanding.

[Sieradzinski] One hears more and more often the view that the next government should be a government of experts. As premier, what is your opinion?

[Rakowski] As far as I remember, it was Jaroszewicz's government that consisted of experts. It was even called a government of technocrats. That calls to mind the names of two excellent experts and practicians, Kopiec and Wrzaszczyk. Well, what happened? In the Wojciech Jaruzelski government, in which I was deputy premier for almost 5 years, there were several professors, economists, lawyers, and so on. These were experts in the full sense of the word, and I think we managed to achieve quite a lot then. Zbigniew Messner's government was partly composed of experts and practicians, but there was also no shortage of professors in it. My government was formed mainly on the basis of practice. I appointed several people who did not belong to traditional setups. Is that good or bad? Did everyone turn out to be competent? I have my own answer to these questions, but does everyone turn out to be as competent as everyone else in life? Even the best expert becomes powerless in the face of the objective reality.

Is Kazimierz Olesiak, minister of agriculture and food industry, who attracted the greatest number of votes in his United Peasant Party, considered a miserable expert by the members of his party? By the way, it is no coincidence that I gave this portfolio to the United Peasant Party. The PZPR held this post for dozens of years. Also, it is not for nothing that I appointed a Council of Ministers Economic Committee, headed by Deputy Premier Ireneusz Sekula. The Economic Committee has become a body which meets regularly, at least once a week and sometimes even twice a week, in order to discuss and decide on complicated economic problems. In this way, responsibility in the government has been focused on these individuals. That also applies to the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee, headed by Aleksander Kwasniewski. The focusing of responsibility does not mean that the head of the government can say that something is not his business.

[Sieradzinski] One can see from the speeches by Deputies Kuron and Bugaj made during the first meeting of the new Sejm that your government is going to be subjected to severe criticism. Please comment on my predictions.

[Rakowski] There are probably several reasons for the opposition's sharp attack on the government. One of them is a desire to settle scores with me for what happened in 1981 and subsequent years. Scores were settled with Wojciech Jaruzelski in this way. I predict that the government will be jostled from all sides. The first experience shows that critics of the government are capable of being ruthless, and fail to take facts and time into account. In other words, the end justifies the means. Of course, that does not mean my government made no mistakes. It did. For example, our radical and hasty work in constructing a model of the economy under pressure from public opinion, including from many economic theoreticians and practicians, meant that we believed too strongly in the functioning of automatic economic mechanisms.

But a personal settling of scores with me is of no significance for the country and its fortunes. I predict that in the nearest and more distant future, the opposition will tell society that the party and successive governments, including my own, are responsible for all of Poland's ills. The fact that there was no unification of the efforts of society after the introduction of political and trade union pluralism, or rather dualism, despite the forecasts of key opposition activists, will fade into the background.

My memory is not short, and I remember people saying: Just wait until trade union pluralism gets off the ground. You will see what progress we will make. Well, what happened? So far, progress has been made in strikes and protests. Blaming the party for every ill is a dishonest political trick. I have no doubt that intelligent people in the opposition, and there is no shortage of such people there, know only too well that there are historical occurrences that are still influencing our attitudes, views, and so on. They know that these occurrences cannot be obliterated, not even with the best politics.

Recently I read a brochure called "Society's Economic Education" by Wladyslaw Grabski, published in 1929, exactly 60 years ago. If I had my way, I would make it required reading for every Pole today, because one receives the impression that it was written yesterday. It describes the

same problems, the same distortions. It is dishonest to tell society that all of Poland's ills were born as a result of the assumption of power by the radical left wing.

[Sieradzinski] Comrade Premier, before we move to another group of questions, I would like to know how a departing head of government feels.

[Rakowski] I have put the government's resignation in writing, in accordance with tradition.

As a man no longer in the prime of life, I accepted this fact with a sigh of relief. I am not one of those who easily give up in the face of difficulty, but I have not had a single proper day off for 9 months, and have not derived much satisfaction from such intense work. My 90 days in office have not been calm, just like Wojciech Jaruzelski's days of office were not calm in the spring of 1981. At the end of the present decade, the daily life of a premier of the Polish People's Republic is a conveyor belt of enormous problems.

However, as a politician, I realize that the fulfillment of my commitments to the country and nation has only just begun. Unfortunately, I have not been able to discharge all of them during my 9 months in office. It was impossible. At the same time, I trust that most of my countrymen will not treat my departure as desertion from the battlefield.

[Sieradzinski] Some party aktivs think that Rakowski's government has once again shouldered the party with the blame for the mistakes in economic policy and for the explosive social situation caused by these mistakes.

[Rakowski] The government, of which I am still head, has never hidden behind the party's back and shouldered it with anything. Ever since the day I became premier, I have pursued a policy that screens the party against the misfortune of co-responsibility for every single government decision, every single economic move, and every single failure. This government has been an independent one. In the past, party cells of all levels decided on many major economic issues. This was a highly unfavorable practice because the real decision-makers remained anonymous, and members of the government felt relieved of responsibility. The government has abolished the principle "political decision." No party in the world may remain indifferent to economic policy, but that does not mean it can act like the conductor of an orchestra.

[Sieradzinski] The party is in pain. The election defeat, accumulated economic difficulties, an uncertain future and blurred vision of socialism, the uncertainty of many party aktivists as to their position—all this is causing frustration, one of the effects of which is the suggestion to split the PZPR into two or even three new parties.

[Rakowski] I trust that many party members understand the causes of the depression in which the PZPR has found itself. There are many reasons for the election defeat (I refer the reader to my Wroclaw speech), but one of the main reasons is that the opposition came to the election as a brand new force, a force unblemished, promising and criticizing everything. The opposition appeared as a tailor-made suit that had been made according to present conditions and expectations.

I trust society will begin to realize rather quickly that the opposition has no better program than ours, and that its participation in parliament will not increase the quantities of sugar in the shops. Now that the opposition is involved in the life of the state, it is ceasing to be a beautiful legend and a wonderful panacea for everything. Now it is starting to be assessed according to what it proposes and according to the extent to which its work encourages economic and social progress. By the way, I appreciate those opposition activists who have admitted honestly and publicly that "Solidarity" has no economic program.

It will soon be clear that the economic troubles have their objective sources, and that opposition parliamentary deputies are changing nothing by means of their speeches. Therefore, either the opposition will place itself in favor of a rational program of economic reforms, a program that is feasible, and will find itself in conflict with a part of society, or it will continue to extol that which is popular but not altogether rational, and will turn out to be an empty force. Please notice that the concept of a constructive opposition which was in vogue in the weeks preceding the Round Table seems to have disappeared. I think Poland needs such an opposition.

By the way, I also wonder what the real reasons are that the leaders of the opposition are reluctant to answer the invitation to form a grand coalition more louldly. The Round Table did, after all, reach a broad consensus about strategic economic activity. If today I hear from the opposition that "Solidarity" has no program, then perhaps what they failed to complete in the past will serve as a program for them?

The times ahead are going to bring clashes of interests. Various political forces are going to voice various interests. As a result, there will be a greater need for an authentic left wing. Our party is such a left wing. It is surprising that Craxi and Mitterrand frequently use the word "socialist" today, while our parliamentary opposition avoids it like the plague.

[Sieradzinski] So the strength of the party is meant to derive from a weakening of the opposition?

[Rakowski] No. It is meant to derive mainly from a comparison of myths, injuries, and grievances with reality. In the nearest future, the reestablishment of the party's position and strength should be achieved by means of a struggle to consolidate authentic national accord. As for our party, we can say that we have faced the challenges of our times well, thanks to the maturity of hundreds of thousands of the party's members and its leadership aktivs at all levels. We are in the front line of

changes which have encompassed every socialist country to a different degree. It is in the ranks of our own party that the program of political and economic reforms first saw the light of day. Our party is radically overcoming the mistakes of the past in deeds, not in words.

The PZPR is already beginning to represent the socialism of the future.

I am opposed to the idea of abolishing or dividing the PZPR, because the PZPR will draw its strength from a multiplicity of streams of thought and from exchanges of different opinions, provided that this results in a unity of action. I was considered a social democrat for many years. Now some people consider me a conservative. Both views are nonsense. Fortunately, I do not have to prove that I am not associated with the orthodoxy of the past. For 25 years I have been beaten for not being orthodox.

As for Social Democratic and similar parties, one should not forget that these parties, especially the ones we like to refer to, are particularly active in countries that used to exploit their colonies, and that the success of these parties stems from the fact that in the 19th century, rapacious and dynamic capitalism created at the cost of untold suffering by the workers class a wealth of nations and scientific progress, thanks to which these parties are now able to implement gentler and fairer principles of the division of labor.

The historic role of our party is different. The PZPR must be firmly rational in its economic program that is meant to multiply resources and the same time protect socialism's values, such as an equal start in life for everyone, economic protection for those in the worst material situation (but not those who are lazy!), fair distribution, and the supremacy of work values over ownership. These goals are not at all easy to achieve during an essential and profound restructuring of the economic system.

Both factors—tough economic reforms and sensitivity to human grievances—must remain permanent components of the party program. These are two inseparable parts of the same policy. Some comrades accept the values of pragmatism, while others are more sensitive to the socially difficult consequences of change. Both streams of thought are needed by the same party, our party, because they complement each other. It would be unwise to split the party at a time when the leftwing is weakened. A strengthening of internal party democracy can be the only guarantee that everyone can express his views.

We need a party that seeks effective ways of achieving progress, a party that is not fond of dogmas and is capable of acting under democratic conditions, in other words, capable of winning an election, but also a party that is sensitive to social justice and protects the interests of those who work diligently. The PZPR can certainly become a pragmatic leftwing party of the 21st century. Pragmatic does not mean ignoring Marxism and the historic achievement of Polish socialists and communists. I do not think we will achieve an identity for our party, or rather our movement, by splitting ourselves up, but by uniting ourselves around concrete goals.

Floor Group Criticizes Rakowski Government

LD2707224889 Warsaw PAP in English
1527 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 27—Deputies and senators from the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group today played host to Polish ombudsman Professor Ewa Letowska who spoke about the principles of her activity.

In the working part of the meeting the floor group tackled matters connected with a general discussion on its programme. The agenda also included a motion that parliament should assess the policy of the outgoing government. Chairman of the group Bronislaw Geremek said that a respective stand had already been filed with the Sejm speaker.

Letowska declared readiness for cooperation with parliament and answered numerous detailed questions.

During its another meeting at 17 hrs here today the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group OKP [All-Polish Peace Committee] wrote a statement criticising the Rakowski government and suggested the possibility of directing the issue to the tribunal of state.

The statement reads: "The OKP disapproves the outgoing government led by Prime Minister M.F. Rakowski. The OKP has negatively evaluated the activities of the government, especially in the field of economic and social policy. In this connection the OKP finds it right to appoint an extraordinary Sejm committee that would examine the government's activities to consider referring the issue to the tribunal of state."

Party Body Discusses Economy

LD2807100589 Warsaw PAP in English
0041 GMT 28 Jul 89

["PUWP Central Committee (Polish United Workers Party Central Committee) Socio-Economic Committee on Economic Situation (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, July 27—Poland's economic situation has been deteriorating for over a dozen months and recently it has reached the point of highest jeopardy. Industrial production in the second quarter of this year was, comparatively, 2.2 per cent lower than a year ago. The decline reached 5 per cent last June and it occured in most industrial branches.

The procurement of slaughter animals dropped. Last June it was 25 per cent lower than in June 1988. This caused a dramatic slump in meat supplies and provided an extra powerful impulse to destabilisation of the entire consumer market.

The volume of exports in the 1st half of this year was only 1.5 per cent higher than in the analogous period last year. Exports grew merely by 1 per cent, while imports by 19 per cent. In effect, the surplus of exports in hard currencies dropped down to 167 million U.S. dollars, which rules out the already crippled servicing of the foreign debt.

Inflation rate nears a three-digit level. The state's financial situation worsens. Central budget deficit in the first half of this year amounted to more than 3.7 trillion zlotys that is 2.1 trillion more than allowed by the budget law. Nearly half of state spending [44.7 per cent] is covered by emission of paper money.

Monetary-market situation and the intensifying price-income race is a field of special danger. Difficulties in market supplies have grown and now there is not only a shortage of selected kinds of meat products but a shortage of rationed meat in general.

There are difficulties in maintaining continuous sales of a number of other products like sugar, grain products, cheese, fish, etc. The situation worsened after the prices and wages freeze had been announced for the duration of one month July.

The reasons of the economic hardship are diverse. Obsolete economic structure and high foreign indebtness will long continue having a bad impact on the economic situation. The present condition of economy, especially the monetary-market situation was and continues to be affected by the failure to cope with the consequences of the abortive price-incomes operation of 1988.

Initiatives and measures undertaken by the government, as well as the laws passed by the Sejm, have not produced any improvement so far.

The committee believes that the orientation of economic policy towards free market is correct. It states, however, that the government's efforts in this direction were not accompanied by necessary moves conditioning the success of the whole process of changes both, in the material and monetary-financial sphere.

The excessive growth of monetary incomes of the population, the stream of paper money have not been curbed. This has led to a dramatic aggravation of market imbalance, nearly to market depletion.

The government-initiated processes of making free market in the economy could be socially and economically desirable only if improvement of the relation between supplies and demand were secured. This disproportion, in reality, was just increased. Chaos has occurred in the system of external trade.

The sphere of legislation saw major gaps and hasty work. In connection with the discriminatory conditions for the economic activity carried out by the state sector in relation to other sectors, have made it inattractive to workers. In effect we are having to do with a negative—from the viewpoint of social efficiency—transfer of workforce from more efficient state-owned enterprises to firms of mediocre economic standards but enjoying more favourable taxation, pricing, and waging principles.

Discrepancies between the regulations on companies and the conditions existing in the economy has released a rush to starting parasite companies trading hard-to-get raw and secondary materials and making fortunes on it. At the same time, the application of better waging principles by the companies, as compared with state-owned enterprises, has started an artificial process in which these enterprises re-name themselvees as companies just to bypass pay limits binding in the state sector. This is a substantial factor of wages differentiation (with no relation to economic effects) which fuels pay claims and economically-motivated social processes in many enterprises.

All signs suggest that the present system of foreign currency policy enhances the flow of national income out of this country, it makes this country poorer.

The committee was briefed on the government's guidelines for an economic programme for 1989-1992, which had been presented to the Internatonal Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The guidelines were criticised. It was said that the general line of the document continued the previous adverse trends. It was in the programme that in 1992 the prices compared with 1988 would be higher by some 780 per cent, while the national income would grow by 6 per cent. A policy based on such a provision—according to hitherto experience—does not lead to the solution of the actual problems of Polish economy but rather to greater difficulties.

The committee believes that there are no objective reasons to accept stagnation in production during the coming three years. Conversely, all signs suggest that a proper economic policy can lead to considerably higher production and national income.

The committee gives its full support to the programme of possibility quickest switching over of the food economy to market mechanisms. This should be done under conditions defined by the round table conference, according to the principle "as quick as possible, as safely as necessary."

The committee also drew attention to the need for a fresh in-depth review of the state regulation of food prices. It believes that the present government's push for introducing market relations without considering the actual conditions, this push overshadowing everything these days, was one of the major factors of aggravation of the economic and social situation. The committee declares itself on the side of a consistent introduction in practice of the strategy of building a new economic deal as in the Round Table agreements.

Council of Ministers Passes Economic Regulations

LD2707200589 Warsaw PAP in English
1806 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 27—The Council of Ministers met here today under the chairmanship of Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski to review preparations for the introduction of market mechanisms into food economy. The government got acquainted with the hitherto course of consultations on the subject.

The Council of Ministers passed an ordinance setting the upper limit of the rural tax on incomes from the special sections of farm production such as orchards, greenhouse production, chicken farms and the like. The tax cannot exceed 50 per cent of the tax basis. The new tax rules should prompt farmers to increase their production.

The Council of Ministers changed certain regulations concerning child care leaves. Adopted was the principle that the lowest earnings that entitle to receiving child care benefits and the amount of money granted will not be set on hitherto quota basis but proportionately to the average monthly pay in the socialized economy and will total 25 per cent of an average monthly pay in the socialized economy last year i.e. some 13,300 zlotys, previously 6,000 zlotys.

The Council of Ministers passed an ordinance simplifying the procedure in matters pertaining to identity cards. It will be possible to have one's identity card changed following an oral motion.

The Council of Ministers adopted an ordinance allowing for the creation of works' systems of remunerations in the following enterprises: banks (except for the Narodowy Bank Polski), property and personal insurance companies, central and territorial bodies of cooperatives, the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade.

Central Committee Plenum To Convene 28 Jul

LD2707174989 Warsaw PAP in English
1529 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 27—The 13th plenum of the PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee starts its second part on Friday, July 28.

The debates, to last two days, were preceded by preparations of draft materials and documents for this session.

Agriculture Minister on Market Principles

LD2707132989 Warsaw PAP in English
0041 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 26—"There is no doubt that free market principles have to and will be introduced in Poland's food economy starting from August 1, 1989. We cannot delay this decision absolutely any longer. It is made too late anyway if we want to cause the so much needed rise in agricultural production and to ensure regular reconstruction of the food market. Thus, maintaining of the hitherto system of meat rationing is no reasonable alternative in a situation when we do not create a chance to supply the necessary amount of meat for the rationing coupons. And it will be so without putting this economy on market principles, said Vice-Premier and Agriculture Minister Kazimierz Olesiak summing up his visit to the Ostroleka Viovodship today. He learnt the course of harvests in this viovodship. [no closing quote as received]

The vice-premier said he expected that after introducing free meat prices they would get fixed at the level of 70-80 per cent of the present free market price, with a considerable differentation in individual regions of Poland. He said also that a certain form of distribution of meat would be maintained in August to ensure supplies of this foodstuff for big cities.

Democratic Party Official on Free Market Pitfalls

LD2707175489 Warsaw PAP in English
1619 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 27—Secretary of the Democratic Party's [DP] Central Committee Jozef Szaniec today supported the planned introduction of free market prices but said that the respective government programme failed to take account of certain social consequences of the operation.

To support the thesis he pointed to lack of reserves of basic foodstuffs and means for farming production which farmers could buy for their prospectively increased incomes.

Szaniec was also pessimistic about the first days after the operation, for in his view society cannot count on abundance of food in the initial period. "There is also a danger of various moods and tensions cumulating in a very short time between the town and the countryside," he warned.

The DP official said free market is an imperative, but it should be accompanied by indexation according to the model worked out at the round table.

OPZZ Comments on Free Market Food Economy

LD2707210789 Warsaw PAP in English
1933 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 27—The executive committee of All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) acknowledged the necessity of introducing free market principles into food economy providing that the operation is properly prepared, particularly as concerns welfare guarantees.

While putting forth the results of consultations, Vice-Chairman of OPZZ Waclaw Martyniuk said that all respondents were critical of the suggested system and the

amount of the cost-of-living supplements which do not guarantee that the standard of living will be preserved but which instead may cause another wave of uncontrolled pay claims.

We must choose the lesser evil. Unless market principles are introduced to food economy there will be a giant slump on the market. Whereas the introduction of free market principles coupled with honestly calculated cost-of-living supplements offer certain chance that slowly the situation will improve, Martyniuk said.

The meeting adopted the committee's stand on the introduction of free market rules into food economy and a statement on indexation of wages.

In another document, the committee stood out against the draft amendments to the budget law comprising such proposals of solutions that violate a number of laws regulating the sphere of remunerations and trade union rights. The introduction of these changes is bound to stir further labour conflicts, the OPZZ executive committee warned.

OPZZ Appeals to Solidarity on Indexation

LD2707214389 Warsaw PAP in English
2045 GMT 27 Jul 89

["OPZZ Statement on Wages Indexation (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, July 27—In connection with the adoption by the Sejm extraordinary committee of the wages indexation bill, which provides for a partial, maximum 80 per cent growth of wages in relation to the growth of prices, linking the indexation-prescribed payouts with the enterprises' financial condition, excluding the welfare allowances, among them old age and disability pensions, from indexation, etc., the OPZZ [All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions] Executive Committee appeals to the Solidarity trade union for changing its position on indexation, which it signed with the coalition-government side at the round table, for rejecting the principle of partial compensations for the growth of the costs of living, and for starting joint efforts against the decline of the living standards of socialised economy workers, pensioners, and the disabled.

Resignation by the Solidarity from the principle of full compensation in fact means acceptance of a major decline in the living standards of the working Poles and it will cause an outburst of public dissatisfaction, protests and strikes that will have to get our understanding and support. At the same time, the Solidarity trade union, as a co-architect of the indexation concept carried out by the government, will be judged by the working world in the context of the social consequences caused by this method, the OPZZ executive committee statement reads.

Party Committee Endorses Market Food Economy

LD2707211389 Warsaw PAP in English
1939 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 27—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee commission for the countryside and agricultural policy came out for putting food economy on free market principles at its meeting here today. Coming out for the adoption of free market mechanisms, the commission said it was in tune with the spirit of reforms in the entire economy.

The commission deemed the low amount of food reserves caused by panic buying, decreased purchasing of animals for slaughter and low discipline of the commodity turnover an adverse circumstance. Having to choose either an immediate introduction of free market mechanisms or further waiting for gathering reserves, the commission came out for the former solution.

A stand on this question, adopted by the commission, pointed out that full compensation for the rise in the costs of living for entire society, to be greater for pensioners and children, would protect society and its living standards. An increase in agricultural production, to take place as a result of the adoption of free market mechanisms, and the resultant richer food market will favourable influence living standards of Polish society.

Farmers Demonstrate in Gdansk, Accord Reached

LD2707221889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1515 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Around 200 individual farmers from the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity of the Gdansk Voivodship commenced a protest action this morning in front of the building of the Voivodship Administrative Office. After talks with the voivoda, Jerzy Miedzykiewicz, an accord was reached at 1330 [1130 GMT], but only with respect to the evening out of the production quotas sold in July, that is during the price freeze period. The remaining postulates were not resolved. As a mark of their protest, the farmers blocked the access streets to the office.

Forensic Tests Done on Father Zych Body

LD2707171589 Warsaw PAP in English
1523 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Elblag, July 27—Voivodship prosecutor of Elblag Antoni Dykowski said that the results of tests made in the Institute of Forensic Medicine in Krakow concerning the sudden death of Father Sylwester Zych have been sent in. As reported earlier, he was found dead near a bus terminal in Krynica Morska on July 10th night.

The analysis of blood and urine samples, segments of inner organs and other evidence proved the presence of ethyl alcohol. Its concentration in blood was 3.2 promille and in urine 4.3 promille. the segments of brain, liver, kidneys and skin also contained ethyl alcohol.

The tests did not show the presence of medicines or poisons, particularly the psychotropic medicines and drugs.

The results of the tests made in Krakow have been sent to the Institute of Forensic Medicine in Gdansk. They will be taken into regard when the institute will be working on the final opinion concerning the causes of Father Zych [phrase as received]. The second post mortem of Father Zych was performed in this institute under the supervision of Professor Stefan Raszeja.

One can expect that the opinion currently under way will provide comments on the discrepancies of reported amount of alcohol detected in the blood and urine samples during the first and the second post mortems and the material sent for the examination to the Krakow-based institute.

Post mortem examination carried out in Elblag on July 12 established that there were 4.3 promille of alcohol in Father Zych's blood, while analysis made on July 14 in Gdansk showed 3.5 promille of alcohol in blood and 4.1 promille in urine.

Solidarity Chapter on Soviet Miners' Struggle

AU2707134289 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 24 Jul 89 p 1

[Unsigned report: "Support from Poland"]

[Text] The Slask-Dabrowskie region "Solidarity" chapter has issued a declaration expressing support for the Soviet miners' struggle for their rights. The declaration expresses the hope that the striking miners at the mines in Siberia and the Donets Basin will see their struggle for personal freedom, dignity of labor, and trade union freedom through to the end.

Solidarity Group's 'Official' Visit to Prague

AU2707135289 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 24 Jul 89 p 1

[Report signed "WAI": "Poland-Czechoslovakia: Meeting with the Opposition"]

[Text] On Friday 21 July a "Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity" delegation began an official visit to Prague. The members of the delegation are Adam Michnik, Zbigniew Janas, Jan Litynski (Sejm deputies), Zbigniew Bujak and Miroslaw Jasinski; Z. Janas and M. Jasinski are "Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity" spokesmen.

In the evening, there was a meeting with representatives of the Czechoslovak opposition in a Prague apartment.

On Saturday [22 July] the Polish delegation accompanied by Father Vaclav Maly (a Charter 77 activist), Petr Pospichal, Anna Hromatkova and Krystyna Krauze had an audience with Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, the Czech primate. Cardinal Tomasek thanked the Polish deputies and senators for signing "A Few Sentences," the appeal issued by the Czechoslovak opposition. Z. Janas announced that the deputies and senators of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club would raise the issue of the repression of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia in the Polish Parliament.

On Sunday [23 July] five Polish delegates went to meet Vaclav Havel at his summer residence in Krkonose. On Monday [24 July] they will meet Alexandr Dubcek and representatives of the Slovak opposition in Bratislava.

Solidarity Support for Appeal

AU2707134489 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 24 Jul 89 p 2

[Report signed "A.J.": "A Response to 'Few Sentences'"]

[Text] On 18 July the 169 members of the Citizens Parliamentary Club issued the following declaration:

In response to the appeal issued by the democratic opposition in Czechoslovakia, we call for:

—the immediate release of all political prisoners;
—an end to the restrictions on the freedom of assembly;
—an end to the practice of persecuting various independent initiatives and treating them as a form of criminal activity, and finally, that the authorities should treat such initiatives in a way that corresponds to long-held public opinion, that is, as a completely natural element of public life and a perfectly legitimate expression of its diversity.

At the same time, no obstacles should be placed in the way of creating new civic movements, including trade unions, political organizations, and associations.

—mass media and all areas of cultural life should cease to be politically manipulated by way of secret and preventative censorship and should become open forums for the free exchange of views, and those initiatives that currently operate independently of official structures should be legalized;
—the legitimate demands of all believers should be respected;
—all investment projects that are being planned or implemented and will have a lasting impact on the natural environment and the lives of future generations should be submitted for examination by commissions of experts and public opinion without delay;
—a public debate should start not only on the 1950's, but also on the Prague Spring, the intervention by Warsaw Pact forces, and the "normalization."

It is sad that at a time when some countries whose armies intervened in Czechoslovakia are beginning to discuss this subject to a greater or lesser degree, it remains a great taboo subject for our neighbor and this is only to prevent people responsible for the decline in all areas of public life in Czechoslovakia from having to step down from their positions in the state and political authorities.

(——) [passage removed by censor] (Law of 31 July, 1981, on the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 3—DZIENNIK USTAW no. 20, item 99, with subsequent amendments)

Opposition Visit Criticized

AU2707125589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jul 89 p 6

[Commentary signed 'erd': "Not Only a Question of Style"]

[Text] "An official delegation of 'Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity' began its visit to Prague on 21 July" we read in GAZETA WYBORCZA. This delegation, consisting of deputies of the newly elected Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, namely, Adam Michnik, Zbigniew Janas, and Jan Litynski, among others, met with "the representatives of the Czechoslovak opposition" and later attended an audience with Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, the head of the Catholic Church in the CSSR.

It does not take too much imagination to conclude that this delegation was the bearer of the statement issued on 18 July by the 169 members of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club, which highlighted a seven-point program of changes which quite clearly belongs to the sphere of the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia.

This brings to mind several thoughts. First, our country is struggling under extremely difficult, complicated, and pressing problems. Would it not have been better if our opposition, now having the right to legal activity, concentrated its energies and concern in participating in order to resolve our own problems, instead of attempting to solve those of our neighbors? The giving of gratuitous advice on "how to organize your house" which comes from people whose own house is in a rather shaky condition can at best be of very doubtful value.

Second, and more important, is the matter of sovereignty. The unfettered right to do as one pleases in one's own backyard and the nonintervention of external forces in the internal affairs of one's own country has long been the accepted and at times demonstrably stressed postulate of the Polish opposition. The seven point statement of the "169 members of the Citizens Parliamentary Club" which has been drafted in a tone of ultimatum ("we demand that without delay....") cannot be called anything but interference in the internal affairs of another country.

Some people may say that this sort of thing is really a matter of style, a matter of credibility and, thus, only of concern to those people who tend to act in such ways. Nevertheless, this sort of activity contains within itself an element which can have a completely different dimension.

Foreign visits of legally acting opposition forces or their parliamentary representatives are a normal occurrence throughout the world. In some countries such visits by opposition representatives are first discussed, in some general way or other, with their own government, or broadly correlated with the external policy course of their own country. In some countries this does not happen. Nevertheless, there is a binding principle which is accepted by oppositions everywhere, that is to say, the principle of respect for one's own country's overriding interests, its raison d'etat.

The Polish raison d'etat implies—and at least the letter of this has not been questioned by the opposition—good, friendly relations with our allies from the Warsaw Pact, including those with our immediate neighbors. Can the activity of "Solidarity" and the Citizens Parliamentary Club in Czechoslovakia be considered conducive to the maintenance of such relations with our southern neighbor?

Prague Embassy on Visit

LD2707163689 Warsaw PAP in English 1503 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Prague, July 27—Poland's embassy to Czechoslovakia here handed over the following statement to the PAP correspondents:

Poland's embassy to Czechoslovakia expresses a surprise and a deep regret over some of the wordings contained in a review which Zbigniew Bujak granted to the "GAZETA WYBORCZA" from July 25 after his visit to Czechoslovakia. Namely, he suggests that the embassy observed Poland's national holiday of July 22 one day earlier so as not to let the group of Polish parliamentarians and opposition activists take part in the ceremony.

Statements of this type prove, alas, a complete unfamiliarity with the basic principles of diplomatic protocol. This protocol requires i.a. fixing of the date of a gala reception at least a dozen or so weeks in advance (this year, the date was fixed as early as in January).

The embassy wishes to ensure that if the Polish parliamentarians visiting Czechoslovakia, even unofficially, wanted to make a contact with it, they would be treated with a respect due to the representatives of the supreme legislative bodies and with the usual politeness and hospitality, the statement concludes.

Sajudis Official on Polish-Lithuanian Conflicts

AU2707165189 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 20 Jul 89 p 6

[Interview with Wirgilius Cepajtis, secretary of the Sajudis Council of the Sejm, by Wojciech Swidnicki: "We Do Not Agree to the Division of Lithuania"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Swidnicki] We are receiving indications of a growing conflict between Poles and Lithuanians.

[Cepajtis] The Union of Poles in Lithuania has called for the establishment of separate autonomous districts in areas that are primarily inhabited by Poles. I think that this demand can only fuel Polish-Lithuanian antagonism

and aid our common enemies, who are afraid that we will reach agreement. The Lithuanian public is developing something of a Polish threat syndrome. It is being said that the Poles want to "break off" part of our territory. We do not see there being any problems if it were only a question of guaranteeing the Polish population the national rights to which they are entitled. However, I do not see there being any possibility of agreement on the regional autonomy question. We do not want to divide Lithuania into a Polish part and a Lithuanian part.

[Swidnicki] Is not the case that Lithuanian fears stem from the fact that the Russians might come out with a similar demand?

[Cepajtis] The Russians are not native inhabitants of Lithuania, so they could not even call for autonomy. Besides, they are not doing that.

[Swidnicki] So how do you think the conflict can be solved?

[Cepajtis] Actually, we are in the process of working on a law that will regulate the rights of national minorities. It will be based on the principle of guaranteeing our minorities the freedom to maintain their own cultural traditions, including their native languages. It will also allow them to use their languages in dealings with the state administration. Representatives of various minorities are involved in the work of the commission that is drawing up the bill. A representative of the Union of Poles was involved in the commission's work until Tuesday 11 July. Unfortunately, he has now declined to participate. It would appear that the union intends to draw up its own bill, which will include the demand for Polish regional autonomy.

[Swidnicki] Lithuanian Poles are complaining that the Lithuanians are destroying historic Polish buildings and monuments and are removing Polish plaques and inscriptions. They bear a grudge against Sajudis for failing to adopt a stance on this issue.

[Cepajtis] Regrettably, things of this kind did happen, but fortunately they are now a thing of the past. There were also cases of Poles burning our flag, but all this mudslinging does not lead anywhere. New Polish schools are being opened in Lithuania, and if something is changing, then it is only changing for the better. However, Polish demands for the establishment of a Polish university in Lithuania, can only be considered propaganda stunts. Currently, about 500 people complete Polish schools every year, so how can you set up a university for them straight away? How can you can find instructors who know Polish well enough for these several hundred people, when there is even a shortage of suitable teachers for the elementary schools?

[Swidnicki] The Poles living in Lithuania have been calling for the right to Polish television programs for years. It would seem possible to satisfy this demand, now that there are plans to establish another television channel. However, it would now appear that the channel will be used to broadcast the Leningrad television network?

[Cepajtis] A final decision is still to be made. It will be made by the republican authorities. Sajudis is against the channel being used for the Leningrad network. We would like it to be used by national minorities. However, financial and technical problems on the part of our television network constitute the main obstacle to this.

[Swidnicki] What is your view of the position of the Lithuanian minority in Poland?

[Cepajtis] The Lithuanians who live in Poland are waiting to have a whole series of problems solved. Until recently, they could not even use Lithuanian names, let alone talk of opening some kind of Lithuanian university in Poland. However, Sajudis does not want to bring up these issues. We hope that "Solidarity," now that it has become legal, will help to have these matters dealt with properly, which is something that the communist authorities have not done this far.

[Swidnicki] So how do you see the future?

[Cepajtis] Well, I am really worried about the future if the Union of Poles in Lithuania does not clearly come out in favor of Lithuanian independence, but only talks about Polish regional autonomy. We cannot give our approval to schemes to divide Lithuania.

Publications Deal With Katyn Massacre

LD2807085989 Warsaw PAP in English 1308 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 27—The latest edition of the "WOJSKOWY PRZEGLAD HISTORYCZ NY" periodical (MILITARY HISTORICAL REVIEW) published the first part of "The Katyn Epitaphs" devoted to the Polish soldiers murdered in Katyn, the Soviet Union, during World War Two.

"I am of the opinion that showing the fates of particular victims personifies the Katyn drama in public opinion, its common vision through the prism of the number of murdered persons change," Col Marek Tarczynski of the Military Historical Institute stated.

"In the latest edition of the WOJSKOWY PRZEGLAD HISTORYCZ NY we published the epitaphs of several dozen officers—Katyn victims. Several hundered epitaphs more will be published in this year's edition No. 4. 'The Book of Katyn Epitaphs' will be a result of our work.

"Many circumstances will be decisive for the conclusion of the work, including access to sources which, especially photos, are chiefly provided by relatives of the victims. In my opinion, under favourable circumstances the work on the book should be completed in two-three years.

"We also carry on the work on the Katyn bibliography to be published by the periodical still this year. Also in 1989 we are going to issue a historical-topographical analysis of the place of the massacre in the Katyn Forest," Col Tarczynski said.

Mircea Raceanu To Be Tried for 'High Treason'

AU2707120289 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 27 Jul 89 p 1

[AFP report: "Mircea Raceanu Tried for High Treason in Bucharest"]

[Text] Paris, 26 July—Mircea Raceanu, a high-ranking official of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, who was arrested at the beginning of the year, now is to be tried for "high treason" in Bucharest. The League for the Defense of Human Right in Romania, which is based in Paris, claims to have heard this from a reliable source. According to the organization, Raceanu faces the death penalty because of this accusation. In March the official Romanian news agency reported that the expert for U.S. affairs had engaged in "espionage for a foreign power" since 1974. Mircea Raceanu is the son of Ion Raceanu, one of six former leading members of the Romanian Communist Party, who had criticized state and party head Ceausescu in an open letter in March.

More on Ceausescus' Visit to Constanta Shipyard

AU2607181089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1711 GMT 26 Jul 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Working Visit to Constanta County"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/7/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu started a working visit to economic units in Constanta County on Wednesday, July 26.

The Romanian head of state's current visit is an opportunity to examine, together with collectivities of working people, current problems related to the activity carried on in industry, agriculture and other sectors, and—in light of the results obtained—to set the steps to be taken with a view to rhythmically and integrally fulfilling the economic plan and the programmes for the country's many-sided development, for a rise in the working people's welfare, materially and spiritually.

The first unit seen round was the ship-building enterprise in Constanta, a powerful unit of the Romanian industry, which has been developed and updated with every passing year.

The analysis conducted with managerial staff in the relevant ministry and industrial central department and in the enterprise highlighted the ship builders' concern to diversify production, to assimilate large-tonnage ships, to apply modern technologies and to shorten the ship building and assembly cycle. Appreciation was expressed for the contribution the collectivity of the enterprise makes to the fulfilment of the national shipbuilding programme in force. With that programme as a basis, the capacity of Romania's sea-going fleet could be increased 27 times over 1965, which provided for a passage from the building of small-tonnage ships to 165,000-dwt ore carriers.

During the visit major issues related to the development of Constanta Port and of the country's sea transport were also examined. The port of Constanta-Sud—Romania's main seagate,—which will be one of the world's major ports now in full process of development and modernization offers today a significant image of the dynamism of the national economy and of the development of Romania's commercial exchanges. This year the first stage of construction works on the ore terminal and on the ferriboat terminal (including a railway system and servicing buildings) was completed.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was informed of the stage of construction works on the future free port, a port complex to serve multiple purposes. The docks of the shipyard were also visited. There, number of ships—ore carriers, oil tanks and ferriboats—which are to be delivered to Romania's sea-going merchant fleet in the near future, as well as the second vessel in the 165,000-dwt series and a new ferryboat are under construction.

At the end of the visit President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed the shipbuilders, the port workers, the engineers, the designers, the technicians and the managerial staff in the attendance and expressed his satisfaction of the substantial progress made in the activity of the shipyard and of the port of Constanta, at the ongoing years' results, which are better than the previous years', in the implementation of the ship-building programme.

Ceausescu Speech at Constanta Rally

AU2707102189 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0834 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at a mass rally in Constanta Municipality on 27 July—live]

[Text] Dear comrades, I want to extend warm revolutionary greetings to you, the participants in this big mass rally, and to all residents of the Constanta County and Municipality, together with best wishes for success in all areas. [cheers, chants]

During our working visit to Constanta Municipality and County we visited some industrial and agricultural units. I was particularly impressed with the achievements attained by the shipbuilders at the shipyard, who have indeed marked achievements of particular importance and, in a short time, have been able to build big-tonnage vessels that sail all the oceans on the globe. [cheers, chants]

We also visited the integrated wool enterprise in Constanta which also made a particular impression on us through its accomplishments and concern with producing textiles of increasingly better quality and with increasing efficiency and profitability. Generally speaking, Constanta industry has developed tremendously and

today its outputs total almost 50 billion lei per year. True, this has required great efforts. These efforts have made Constanta County and Municipality—as in fact the whole country—turn into a county with a strong industry, just as Romania has turned from a poorly developed agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian country boasting modern industry based on the latest achievements of science and technology, and socialist agriculture in full progress. [cheers, chants]

At the revolutionary workers democracy forum in November and at the recent party Central Committee plenum, I took comprehensive stock of the excellent achievements of the Romanian people in socialist development and in raising our country's level of civilization in general. All these achievements are known. Therefore I do not want to dwell on them now. Worthy of mentioning, however, is the fact that all this has been possible because we have eliminated imperialist domination and the bourgeois regime for good, have passed the means of production to the people, the workers class, and all working people, and have built strong socialist ownership in both industry, in agriculture, and in all areas, this being the foundation for development and for our great achievements, and a guarantee for our homeland's progress. [cheers, chants]

For the achievements attained in the first half year of the current year, I want to convey warmest congratulations to all working people in Constanta Municipality and County, together with the wish to do all they can to fulfill the commitments assumed, on behalf of all working people, by the county party committee and by the enterprises whose representatives took the floor, namely to fulfill the plan for 8 months in honor of the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and to complete this year's production plan by the 14th RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Congress. [cheers, chants]

I am convinced that all working people's collectives throughout the country and the county party committees will respond to the commitment assumed by Constanta County and working people, namely to do all they can to also achieve the best of results and to fulfill this year's production plan in honor of the 14th RCP Congress. What is at stake now is which county will rank first; this is a competition between owners and producers, between the working people who want to ensure our homeland's elevation to an ever higher level of socioeconomic development. [cheers, chants]

From this big mass rally, I want to extend warmest congratulations to all working people in our country and to wish them the achievement of better and better results in all their activities. [cheers, chants]

It would give me great pleasure if the working people in Constanta Municipality and County, who have pledged today to fulfill the industrial production plan for the whole year in honor of the 14th RCP Congress, would rank first. Do work to achieve this goal. [cheers, chants]

We have visited several agricultural units, both state enterprises and agricultural production cooperatives. On the whole, I also have gained positive impressions about the activity of the agricultural working people. As a matter of fact, you know that Constanta County has achieved more than 8,000 kg of wheat per hectare, more than 7,500 kg of barley per hectare, as well as positive results with other crops. However, I have to tell you, comrades, that one of your neighbors across the Danube, ranks before Constanta County with almost 9,110 kg of wheat per hectare. I would be greatly pleased if Constanta County had struggled to rank at least second. I hope that everything will be done next year, so that Constanta ranks first with 9,300-9,500 kg of wheat per hectare. [cheers, chants]

Since both the press and television have reported the results achieved by all counties and by hundreds upon hundreds of cooperatives and state units, I do not want to dwell on them now. What I think I should emphasize is the fact we have achieved the best of yields ever throughout the country. These yields demonstrate the potential and ability of the agricultural working people and of cooperative members, as well as the superiority of the socialist state and cooperative ownership which has created the necessary conditions to achieve these outputs which only 10-15 years ago seemed not possible. This is what socialism means and this demonstrates the united activity of the peasantry and of the working people in agriculture. [cheers, chants]

For all these achievements, I want to convey to the cooperative members and the working people in agriculture of Constanta County and throughout the country warmest congratulations, together with the wish to do all they can to harvest the fall crops on schedule and under favorable conditions, so that agriculture can present itself with the best yields ever achieved. Only in this way will we be able to create a lasting foundation for the constant progress of agriculture and of our homeland in general. [cheers, chants]

It is necessary to emphasize that in the tremendous achievements attained by the working people and all our people in all areas, a role of great importance was played and continues to be played by science, education, and by the activity of constantly improving the standard of knowledge and training of all working people. We must clearly understand that only on the basis of the most modern achievements of science—in both industry and in agriculture, and in other fields—have we been able to attain the achievements of today.

I am stressing this because, as the program-directives up to the year 2000-10 emphasizes, we have to do all we can to constantly improve the scientific activity, education, and culture, so as to turn our workers class into a class of intellectual workers, the peasantry into an intellectual peasantry, and all our people into people with a high consciousness and cultural standard. Only thus will we be able to march forward toward communism. [cheers, chants]

For these great achievements in these areas, I want to convey warmest congratulations to scientists, educational people, and men of culture, together with the wish to work with even greater determination and in a revolutionary spirit to improve the scientific and training standard of our whole nation. [cheers, chants]

On the basis of documents put forward by the Central Committee plenum, the party and all our people are discussing the targets regarding our homeland's future development. You are familiar with the provisions of these documents. They outline wonderful prospects for the Ninth 5-Year Plan of 1991-95 and up to the year 2000 and in some areas up to the first 10-year period of the third millenium.

They are provisions of particular importance for the present and future of our homeland. They start from the need to firmly continue the policy of developing and modernizing industry, to give priority to the intensive development in all areas, and to ensure a balanced progress in all sectors of the national economy, thus ensuring an improvement in our homeland's level of development in general. These documents also include important provisions for agriculture, transportation, and the construction of housing and other social establishments. They also vigorously emphasize the need to intensify the scientific research activity, perfect education, the cultural and ideological activity, and to constantly improve the revolutionary awareness of our whole nation. All this guarantees excellent prospects based on the achievements attained thus far and on the high level of development our homeland has reached today.

Therefore we are fully convinced that during the discussions with all our people these documents will be perfected and then adopted by the 14th RCP Congress as basic documents for the activity of all our people in order to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and to create conditions, so that by the year 2000 we will implement the principles of the communist society—the golden dream of all mankind. [cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, the fulfillment of these great targets require a constant improvement in the activity in all areas. I deem it appropriated to emphasize, at this big mass rally, too, that first of all we have to work to perfect and enhance the leading political role of the party in all areas. Everything we have achieved is due to the fact that our communist party is honorably fulfilling its historic missions of leading the whole nation on the road of the new system, the road of well-being and happiness. We have applied and must always apply the objective laws and the principles of socialism to the specific conditions in our homeland. We must never renounce or somehow depart from the basic goals and principles of socialism and communism, which presuppose the elimination for good of the exploiting classes, of social or national inequalities, and the ensurance of full equality of rights among all the sons of our homeland who, in complete unity, are building their own future according to their desire. [cheers, chants]

We must perfect the activity of state bodies and ensure a closer link between central bodies, enterprises, and working people. And above all, we have to broadly develop the new forms of revolutionary workers democracy. We have to see to it that the working people's councils and the general meetings of owners and producers will actively play their leading role in all areas. Only by intensively developing the framework of the revolutionary workers democracy and by ensuring the active participation of all working people and of our whole nation in running all areas will we be able to ensure the firm progress of our homeland's development process and its elevation to new heights of progress and civilization. [cheers, chants]

Starting from the scientific concept of building socialism with the people and for the people, we have to do all we can, so that all our people will be a decisive factor for all changes on the road of socialism and of advancing toward the highest pinnacles, toward communism. [cheers, chants]

It is well known that, along with the development of the forces of production and of increasing the national wealth, our party's and state's constant concern is to constantly improve the material and cultural standard of living of our people. Everything we achieve in our country in all areas is aimed at constantly improving the material and cultural potential of our homeland and, on this basis, at constantly raising the well-being of our whole nation. This is the supreme goal of our communist party's policy, namely to guarantee our people well-being, happiness, true independence, freedom, and sovereignty for all our nation. [cheers, chants]

Discussing the documents for the 14th RCP Congress, all of us have to work toward perfecting activities in all areas. It depends on each working people's collective in all areas to firmly apply the principle of self-management and self-administration, and to go over to formulating the development programs for each enterprise or unit, for each commune and town, so that the development programs for the next 5-year plan will ensure profound changes and renewal in all sectors, in all counties, and all rural and urban places in our country. Let us do all we can, so that by the year 2000 Romania will, indeed, present itself as a vigorously developed socialist country in all areas, which has created the necessary conditions to go over to the principles of communist work and life. These are the targets for which we have to work and struggle in all areas in a revolutionary spirit. [cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, in close dialectical connection with the concern for continuously developing our homeland, we have always worked to ensure our active participation in international life and in the socialist and international

division of labor. We have believed and continue to believe that, in order to appropriately implement all our development programs—just like the programs of all peoples in the world—we need a policy of peace and equal cooperation among all nations of the world, regardless of their social system. In this spirit we have developed and continue to develop relations with all the countries of the world. Proceeding from the complex and serious current international situation, we will do all we can to make our contribution to finding solutions, in a new manner, to these international problems and to disarmament, starting with nuclear disarmament and with the complete elimination of all nuclear weapons from our planet. [cheers, chants]

We firmly speak out for the soonest possible achievement of accords in Vienna on the reduction of conventional weapons and the transition to reducing military expenditures by at least 50 percent, thus ensuring that proper conditions are created to allocate appropriate sums to solving many social problems in various countries and, at the same time, to assisting developing countries.

We believe that it is high time for all peoples and nations to work more forcefully and in complete unity to bring about a policy of disarmament and peace, and ensure a bright future for all nations of the world. [cheers, chants]

Likewise, we speak out for a new policy in the field of finding solutions to economic problems. Taking into account the serious problems in the world economy, particularly the continually and considerably worsening situation of the developing countries, we advocate the organization of an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations, with the participation of the developing countries and the developed countries, to find solutions to all the problems of underdevelopment, starting with the problems of the developing countries' foreign debt, which has exceeded $1,300 billion. We speak out for new principles and international economic relations that should be based on equity, equality, and mutual advantage.

In general, we believe that an end should be put to the imperialist and neocolonialist policy; the policy of force and interference in other countries' affairs should be eliminated, and the principles of complete equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and respect for the right of each nation to choose its own development path, according to its own wishes and without any outside interference, should be implemented in interstate relations. [cheers, chants]

It is true that the international economic, political, military, and social issues are very complex and in many respects very serious. However, we firmly believe that there are forces in the world that can find new solutions and, through their concerted actions, peoples everywhere can ensure a new policy of disarmament, peace, and equal economic cooperation among all the nations of the world. As far as we are concerned, we will do all we can to make our contribution to establishing a more just and better world. [cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, as I said at the beginning, we have gained good impressions of the activity of the party organization and of all the working people in Constanta Municipality and Constanta County. I have known the Constanta party organization and the working people in Constanta since 1946. I was familiar with the way industry, agriculture, Constanta, and the county's localities looked. Anyone who visits Constanta today is able to see what could be achieved in this county, just like throughout the country, in the years of socialism, when the people have become the masters of their destinies and are consciously building their own future. [cheers, chants]

All those who ask the question: What are the achievements of socialism? are invited to visit Constanta and other parts of Romania, but mostly to Constanta, where 40 years ago there was a very, very backward situation. They will be able to see what a nation and working people can achieve when they build their future freely and independently. What is socialism? It is a society which ensures socioeconomic, scientific, and cultural development and ensures well-being, the construction of housing, hospitals, and schools; it ensures the prosperity of our people.

This is the socialism that has been established in Constanta and throughout the country. This is what we have to say to all those who ask the question of whether the superiority of socialism has been proved. Not only has it been proved but, in a relatively short period, it ensured the achievement of what it was not possible to achieve in hundreds of years in the past. All this could be achieved only under conditions of socialism, that is, under conditions in which we eliminated the oppressors and ensured that people are the masters of their destinies and build their life according to their own wishes. [cheers, chants]

Undoubtedly, comrades, we have had lags and unfortunately some mistakes have been made, but we have continued our progress forward. And now, reviewing what we have achieved in Constanta and throughout our country, we must say with justified pride that our Communist Party—I want to repeat this—has fulfilled and continues to honorably fulfill its historic mission and that our workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and our whole nation, working in close unity, have proved that they can work better without capitalism and will build a communist society that can ensure the best of conditions for the entire nation. Here, where 2 millenia ago the Dacians fought for their independence, we are now establishing a society of equality, justice, and of the true national independence. [cheers, chants]

Viewing all these, I would like to emphasize again that we should do all we can and commendably fulfill the plan for this year in accordance with the pledges voiced here and we should commendably fulfill the production

plan and exports plan on schedule, improve quality, and increase economic efficiency in all fields of activity. Let us do all we can and ensure that Constanta County reports increasingly better results to the Congress. I am confident that the party organization and all the working people's collectives, the managerial councils, and all the citizens of Constanta County and Constanta Municipality will work in complete unity and will report to the 14th Party Congress increasingly better results in all areas. And I want to repeat this, I wish you to take the first place in this competition.

I want to extend to you all, the participants in this big mass rally and all the working people in Constanta County and Constanta Municipality, wishes for increasingly greater successes, achievements, and fulfillments in all areas, much health and happiness. [cheers, chants]

Ceausescu Receives Director of Turkish Paper

AU2607173289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1709 GMT 26 Jul 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Receives the Special Envoy of the Newspaper TERCUMAN of Turkey"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/7/1989—On Wednesday, July 26, Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, received in Neptun Yavuz Donat, special envoy and director in Ankara of the newspaper TERCUMAN of Turkey.

On the occasion President Nicolae Ceausescu granted an interview with the TERCUMAN.

Mitran Holds Talks With GDR's National Front

AU2707084989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Romanian Politician Welcomed at the National Council"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Werner Kirchhoff, vice president of the National Council of the GDR National Front, received Ion Mitran, member of the Executive Office of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front (FSDE) of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in Berlin on Tuesday [25 July] for a friendly talk. Werner Kirchhoff briefed the guest on varied activities by the citizens in town and countryside to prepare the 40th anniversary of the GDR and the 12th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. This impressively reflects the tested alliance between all classes and strata.

Ion Mitran explained the comprehensive initiatives for the preparation of the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party this November and the Fourth FSDE Congress in spring 1990, where a long-term program for the participation of the popular movement in the further shaping of socialism in the Socialist Republic of Romania will be discussed.

Army Weekly on U.S. Support for Albanians
AU2607085589 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 89 p 16

[M. Drecun commentary: "Albanian Lobby"]

[Text] The adoption of the anti-Yugoslav amendment in the House of Representatives of the U.S Congress and in the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate, which criticizes Yugoslavia because of the alleged violation of the rights of ethnic groups, especially the Albanians in Kosovo, and because of the "restrictions" on Kosovo autonomy, has caused indignation among the unsuspecting Yugoslav public, but having in mind some other events, it comes as no surprise. There is no doubt: The moving force of the anti-Yugoslav amendment are the Albanian hostile emigres, the main support of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in its anti-Yugoslav activities abroad.

In their effort to internationalize the Kosovo problem and to demand that Kosovo become a "republic," the hostile Albanian emigres directed their activities at those targets and values which, under Western democratic criteria, may be classed under natural rights of ethnic groups and under the preservation of national identity, taking care that the forms of their activities, from a formally legal viewpoint in international law, may be classed under protection of human rights. In this way, the hostile Albanian emigres succeed in arousing the interest in the Kosovo problem by some institutions and individuals dealing with the protection of human rights in western countries.

It is characteristic that the hostile Albanian emigres and the diplomatic missions of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are making vigorous efforts to internationalize the "Albanian question" in the United States and through the United States. Winning to their side some former and present members of the Congress and the Senate—DioGuardi, Crane, Broomfield, Simon, Dole, Riegle, Lantos, Traficant, Barton—who are active in the struggle for the so-called rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia and many of whom participate actively in gatherings and demonstrations directed against Yugoslavia, the hostile Albanian emigres appear to have succeeded in creating an Albanian separatist lobby acting against the interests of Yugoslavia. Diogardi, former Congressman of Albanian origin, undoubtedly heads this lobby; he has been acting from great Albanian positions in the United States for some time. In the interviews he grants and in the speeches he makes, he expresses "concern" for human, political, and religious rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, advocating the need for the Albanians to be organized in the United States. He also endeavors to establish links with virtually all the groups of hostile Albanian emigres. He is also trying to inspire the U.S. Congress so that the United States may become involved in solving the Kosovo problem.

Mentioning the existence of the Albanian separatist lobby, one must bear in mind that over 70,000 U.S. citizens are of Albanian origin, and that during election campaigns, special attention is paid to such a strong group of voters. It is therefore certain that to win over to their side certain official American personages, the hostile Albanian emigres also make use of money contributions, election funds, and other forms of "legal corruption."

The anti-Yugoslav amendment has not been adopted because its proposers and advocates were not sufficiently informed or because they did not know the real situation in Kosovo and the position of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, or because of the struggle to protect human rights. In fact, this is an overt and impudent support to Albanian separatists in Kosovo and an attempt to tie the hands of the Yugoslav Government and to make the settling of affairs in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and a squaring of accounts with aggressive Albanian separatists more difficult, and to reduce the legitimate defense of the integrity of the country—which is a constitutional obligation of the Yugoslav government—to a "violation of human rights." There is no difference between this and interference in our internal affairs. It must be said that in no case will Yugoslavia tolerate the continuation of the destructive and wrecking activities of the Albanian separatists in Kosovo only so that the U.S. Congress or Senate may not accuse it of violations of human rights. It depends on Yugoslavia as a sovereign country to what extent human rights, and in this context the rights of the Albanians in its territory, will be respected. And all people of good will may see that the Albanians in Yugoslavia enjoy rights that, it may be freely said, no national minority in the world has attained. Other people than those of good will do not want to see and will not see this.

Vajgl Says Drafts for Nonaligned Summit Prepared
LD2707180189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1650 GMT 27 JUL 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 27 (TANJUG)—Draft documents for a 9th non-aligned summit have been prepared, Ivo Vajgl, the press spokesman for Yugoslavia's Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, told his regular press conference here today. Involved are a draft declaration and fifteen or so separate documents dealing with specific political matters and international economic relationships, he added.

The documents of political character cover international security, the Middle East and the Palestine problem, Lebanon, South of Africa, and other topics of importance.

As to the documents of economic nature, Vajgl listed by name those dealing with the state of the world's economy and international economic relations, then debts, development financing and monetary questions, food and agriculture, problems of the least developed countries, human environment protection, and economic cooperation among the developing countries.

Being scheduled to host the forthcoming summit, Yugoslavia committed itself to draw up the said documents. They are to be forwarded to the countries to take part by way of the Yugoslav mission to the United Nations in New York, Vajgl said. While the documents were worked out, stands voiced by other participating countries expressed during consultations were also taken into account.

A definite number of the non-aligned countries have already made their contributions to organising the forthcoming 9th summit, Vajgl pointed out, without precisely stating their aid amounts. Under way are contacts with others who have voiced the same wish, he remarked.

The Yugoslav press spokesman indicated the presence of over a thousand journalists at the gathering-to-be.

While commenting on a pamphlet issued by the Greek news agency ATHENAGENCE (ANA) on the so-called Macedonian national question, Vajgl said in conclusion that it denies the existence of the Macedonian people in Yugoslavia and of the Macedonian national minority in Greece, a thing out of proportion to the policy of goodneighbourship and seriously burdening the two countries' relations.

In reply to a question about Albania's going to have the problem of Yugoslavia's Province of Kosovo put on the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly session this year, Vajgl said that Albania's intentions like that are unknown to him, evaluating that Albania should think seriously about observing the obligation of respecting human rights in its own house.

The press spokesman for Yugoslavia's Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs resolutely denied as a figment of imagination the writing of the SOUTHSCAN, a little known British newspaper, that "on Yugoslavia's insistence, diplomatic relations are to be established with the Republic of South Africa."

Korosec Talks With Vacationing Hungary's Pozsgay

LD2707081289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1306 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Dubrovnik, 26 Jul (TANJUG)—Imre Pozsgay, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Presidium, who is on vacation on the Adriatic, had a meeting with Stefan Korosec, secretary of the Leaque of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, at the Hotel Belvedere in Dubrovnik this morning. A friendly and cordial talk was held on this occasion.

During the talk, reference was made to the preparations in the two countries for the coming party congresses to be held this year. There was an exchange of information of mutual interest. They also discussed political and economic reforms in Yugoslavia and Hungary and exchanged information on this topic, too. The third group of issues mentioned during the meeting referred to the present situation in the socialist countries with the special emphasis on current events. During the talks, conducted in an open and friendly atmosphere, many similarities of views on a series of issues and of identical stands were noted, for instance, in the view of both countries, under the present circumstances the socialist countries are right to devote so much attention to those problems arising from the reforms of their political and economic systems.

Federal Chamber Proceedings, Debates Continue

Zelenovic Speech to Chamber

LD2707122289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1037 GMT 25 Jul 89

["Federal Chamber: Dr Dragutin Zelenovic speech"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] [dateline not received] Thus, disciplinary and minor offenses proceedings were brought against 3,201 workers, which amounts to 7.3 percent of all employees in organizations in which compulsory work orders were enforced. Since 12 July of this year, compulsory work orders have been lifted in several spheres of the economy such as mills, bakeries, groceries, the Ramiz Sadiku factory in Pec, a shock absorber factory in Pristina, the Vinteks work organization in Vitina, and so forth. Compulsory work orders remain in force only in seven work organizations in the spheres of mining, energy, and transportation. So, the number of workers to whom compulsory work orders apply is reduced to 24,000, which means that the measure is enforced only in respect to activities of vital importance for work and life, not just in the province but in the country as a whole.

Apart from the measures within its competence, Zelanovic added, the SFRY Presidency proposed an initiative to the effect that competent bodies in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo undertake measures within their competence, that is, on the basis of appropriate republican and provincial laws; for instance: summoning and warning certain persons, ordering them to stay at a certain place, and a ban on public meetings. [passage omitted]

On 27 March, the ban on gathering and approaching public places, and on the movement of three or more persons, as well as the ban on movement between 2000 and 0500—which was reduced after about 10 days to 2230 to 0500—was introduced in the SAP of Kosovo. On 17 April, markets and sports events were allowed; on 11 May the ban on movement and approach to public places or certain areas was lifted; and on 22 May the ban on movement in a certain place at certain times was lifted too. [passage omitted]

When the measures [of isolation] were applied, searches were carried out of apartments and other premises in the case of 173 persons and on that occasion 90 pistols, 14 rifles, 2 automatic rifles, 2 army carbines, 1 submachine gun, 3 hunting rifles, and 2,000 rounds of assorted

ammunition were found and confiscated. The internal affairs organs brought 52 criminal charges and 23 charges in the magistrate's court against these persons, and 168 were given warnings.

The SFRY Presidency, Zelonovic stressed, insisted that the measure of isolation should last for as short a time as possible and that the rights and freedoms of citizens should be consistently respected. It should be said that the conduct of workers of the organs of internal affairs toward these persons was legal and correct. However, in a few cases, powers were overstepped and a number of isolated persons were mistreated by prison staff in the prisons in Leskovac and Vranje. As soon as these cases became known, the competent republican organs in the Socalist Republic [SR] of Serbia took all necessary measures to establish the real situation and to hold those guilty of illegal conduct accountable before the law. The public will soon be informed of the results of the investigation and the measures taken by the competent organs. The SFRY Presidency has been informed that there is no longer a single person in isolation.

In the SAP of Kosovo only the order banning demonstrations and protest meetings is still in force.

As far as measures taken during the state of emergency in Kosovo are concerned, it should be stressed that they were all based on the constitution and the laws. Considering that the integrity, independence, and territorial unity of the country are indivisible and that the price paid for the independence of Yugoslavia and its integrity is very high, it was necessary to take two kinds of measures. The first group arose out of the legal powers of the federal organs, and the second was taken by those competent in the SAP of Kosovo. It was insisted that only essential measures should be taken which would cause as few negative effects as possible. The application of certain measures was restrictive both in their scope and their duration.

The emergency measures and other measures and activities contributed to the alleviation of the unfavorable security and political situation in Kosovo. It is most significant that a further deterioration in the situation and the development of more serious consequences were prevented, and some conditions for the more efficient functioning of the sociopolitical and economic system were created.

It has frequently been noted that the conditions created by the emergency measures should be used to intensify sociopolitical activities, which has to some extent been done, but not enough. The absence of intensive and broad political action is thus one of the main reasons why the situation in Kosovo has not been consolidated sooner.

The SFRY Presidency regularly and comprehensively examines the implementation of the emergency measures and the overall political-security situation in Kosovo. This situation is also assessed from the viewpoint of whether there is still a need for a state of emergency and emergency measures. In this connection, the attitude is taken that emergency measures should be selectively abolished or adjusted to the development of the situation. It goes without saying that the cancellation of certain measures should not lead to another deterioration in the situation. If the situation continues to improve, conditions will be created for the abolition of the remaining measures and the state of emergency as a whole, Zelenovic stressed.

Decisions on the relaxation or abolition of certain measures have been taken with the full agreement of the representatives of the competent organs of the federation and the appropriate organs of the SR of Serbia and the SAP of Kosovo. Discussion of this was carried out on the basis of argued proposals containing a full analysis of the situation and assessment of the results of the application of emergency and other measures to date, Zelenovic stressed.

Since the political-security situation in Kosovo remains complex, particularly in certain places, the SFRY Presidency has decided that for a time the remaining measures introduced earlier should remain in force, such as: the ban on gatherings for the purpose of demonstrating, increased security measures on the borders, the involvement of civil defense headquarters, the speeding up of plans for the prevention and elimination of emergency situations, the work of information centers, standby duties, and so forth. As may be seen, the emergency measures retained do not restrict the work and lives of the people but rather help the situation to normalize, or prevent or firmly suppress any attempt to revive destructive activity.

I have not mentioned the group of other measures which do not arise out of the decision on declaring a state of emergency or taking emergency measures. In connection with these other measures, it should be recalled that the SFRY Presidency during 1987, on the basis of its authority under the law on the foundations of the system of state security, adopted a measure on sending a combined division of militias to the SAP of Kosovo and the the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs assuming a considerable part of the tasks of organization and the direct execution of the tasks of state security in Kosovo. These measures have been augmented several times in accordance with the security situation in Kosovo.

Insufficient information about our legal system and the inadequate use of the idea of emergency measures has provoked uncomfortable associations and an unfounded analogy with similar institutions in other countries, as well as unjust reactions not only in a section of international public, but also in our country, Zelenovic stressed.

In this connection it should be said that, unlike other legal systems, within our constitutional and legal system emergency measures have a completely different meaning. In the traditional sense of the word, emergency measures imply that certain constitutional regulations,

in particular those referring to human rights and freedoms, as well as the authority of some state organs, in particular of the parliament, are not in force. None of this happened in our country with the introduction of emergency measures.

The introduction of emergency measures in Kosovo was carried out on the basis of Article 316 of the SFRY Constitution and Article 6 of the Law on All-People's Defense. They state that in a situation in which "an armed or other activity directly threatens the country's independence, its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the social order established by the SFRY Constitution," the SFRY Presidency is obliged to adopt appropriate decisions and measures. [passage omitted]

The situation in Kosovo also attracts the attention of the public abroad. In this connection, unfortunately, we have to conclude that the public abroad has not been fully and objectively informed about the legal nature of the problems and individual events in our province. There is understanding and justification for Albanian separatism, and the fact that this separatism is the source of the serious situation in Kosovo and the cause of the measures which have been taken to prevent the most serious consequences has been ignored. Ignorance of the real situation, the extent and content of the rights of the Albanian and other nationalities in Yugoslavia has offered room for a one-sided interpretation of events and of the measures taken and has fueled propaganda and political pressure on our country, Zelenovic stressed. [passage omitted]

As a result of the introduction of emergency measures and undertaking of other activities, Zelenovic assessed, the situation in Kosovo has essentially improved in the sense that the institutions of the system are funtioning, economic life is gradually returning to normal, while destructive activities have been prevented.

However, in assessing the totality of the political and security situation we must start from the observation that certain significant unfavorable elements of the situation in the SAP of Kosovo have still not changed. Among these elements we must include stubborn efforts by Albanian nationalits and separatists to realize their well-known aims.

Though groups and individual Albanian nationalists and separatists from time to time initiate extreme activities such as sabotage, terror, and armed insurrection, the propaganda and psychological method of activity continues to prevail with them. This can be seen in the increased number of slogans, pamphlets, and other propaganda material. The means to carry out this activity are not a matter for choice. Spreading of rumors to the effect that vaccination of school children would allegedly lead to their sterilization is yet another drastic example of the propaganda activity of nationalists and separatists.

Hostile Albanian emigres are emerging more than ever as active participants in certain events in Kosovo. They offer varied kinds of assistance and support to their sympathizers in the country and exert strong pressure on workers of Albanian nationality temporarily employed abroad. In the period since the introduction of emergency measures in the SAP of Kosovo, Albanian emigres have ogranized more than 50 anti-Yugoslav demonstrations in West European countries, the United States, Canada, and Australia. Nor do they shrink from blackmail, terrorist and other threats in order to widen a circle of their sympathizers, or at least to silence those who are not taken in by their propaganda.

In their attempt to internationalize the so-called Kosovo question and with the assistance of significant financial means, Albanian emigres have exercised a considerable impact on some political circles abroad. This is the result of their persistence and skill as well, as of our lack of efficiency to present abroad a realistic picture of the situation in the SAP of Kosovo. [passage omitted]

The Presidency is resolute in its stance to the effect that emergency measures cannot be expected to present a solution to essential and long-term problems in Kosovo, such as economic and other types of underdevelopment, demographic explosion, lack of interethnic confidence, consequencess of indoctrination over a long period, and so forth... but these measures can only create certain conditions for undertaking comprehensive measures, Zelenovic stressed. Essential changes can be created as a result of efforts in economic and overall development and by releasing the natural and human resources of Kosovo for a speedier general development and better life, full equality and freedom of all nations and nationalities in the SAP of Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Debate on Kosovo

LD2707095189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1441 GMT 25 Jul 89

["Federal Chamber Session: Proceedings"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] [Dateline not received] Neither compromises nor inside or outside pressures should play any part in deciding on when the special measures in Kosovo will be lifted; rather the decision to this effect must be based exclusively on an objective assessment of the situation in the province. This was stressed by Marija Rodic, who opened a debate [on 25 July] on the implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo.

Rodic went on to note that in some parts of the country and in some public statements, the special measures have been given special attention. According to her, this resulted in wrong impressions being created abroad, thus making the job of Albanian chauvinists and separatists that much easier and contributing to a smear campaign against Yugoslavia.

She singled out the anti-Yugoslav amendment adopted by the U.S. Congress, which lables legitimate efforts to defend the SFRY territory as repression of the Albanian people, as one of the ways in which Yugoslavia was taken for a ride.

Marija Rodic stressed that Yugoslavia has been put in an impossible and absurd situation whereby the country, in which minorities and ethnic groups enjoy more rights than anywhere else in the world, including the United States, is being accused of violating these same rights.

She went on to conclude that now more than ever before the country needs unity as a precondition for resisting pressures. [passage omitted]

The fact that in the first 6 months, 18 percent fewer Serbs and Montenegrins emigrated from Kosovo than in the same period last year must not be taken as an indicator of an improvement in the overall situation. In view of the fact that very few Serbs and Montenegrins remain in Kosovo, the number of those who emigrate will, in proportion, continue to decline, Slavej Krstovski warned. [passage omitted]

Viktorija Potocnik expressed her disappointment with the report of the representative of the SFRY Presidency because as she put it, it failed to provide answers to the question of why there was a need for an emergency situation and special measures in Kosovo. She also criticized the SFRY Presidency member for deciding not to stay at the session and listen to what the delegates had to say.

Potocnik drew attention to the majority of measures taken so far, including the changes in the federal constitution and the constitutions of Serbia and the province, the introduction of special measures and the setting up of funds designated for Kosovo, and went on to ask whether, in view of the unimpressive results so far, the method and diagnosis were the right ones.

In her view, better results will not be possible until each individual in Kosovo shows readiness to take part in the efforts to resolve problems and until the entire population, regardless of national affiliations, is win over. [passage omitted] In reference to the amendment adopted by the U.S. Congress, Viktorija Potocnik stressed the need for avoiding "bombastic" language and the tit-for-tat attitude. Instead, valid arguments and facts must be used as the most effective weapon. [passage omitted]

The Federal Chamber today also adopted the drafts of changes to the law on the federal judicial organ, bringing them in line with constitutional amendments. Under the changes, moral and political suitability will no longer be among the essentials for appointing judges, prosecutors, or attorneys or for terminating these functions. The law on the organization and the common methodology of gathering, recording and processing data for use by the judicial organs and of interest for the entire country was also adopted today.

At the session, the delegates adopted a proposal for adopting a law on the election and recall of delegates to the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber which envisages general, direct and secret elections at the level of electoral units.

Delegates would be elected from a list with more candidates than will be elected, the Federal Chamber will continue to have 30 delegates from each republic and 20 from each of the provinces. However, in the future more than half of the delegates will have to come from associated labor. [passage omitted]

The Federal Chamber today adopted a proposal for a law on a population census to be held in 1991.

In addition to registering the overall number of people living in Yugoslavia, the census will also serve to gather necessary information on various other points about the Yugoslav population.

For the first time, the census will include foreigners temporarily resident in Yugoslavia at the time of the census. This practice is applied by many other countries and is also recommended by the United Nations.

In accordance with constitutional principles, citizens will not have to declare to which nation or nationality they belong. The law proceeds from the principle that a degree of confidentiality of the collected data must be safeguarded. However, refusal to supply data will result in a fine.

Commenting on Article 4 of the law on national affiliation, Radivoje Scekic said he believes that this means the citizens will be allowed to declare themselves as Yugoslavs. If this is not so, I recommend that this provision be included in the law since Yugoslavia is in the process of developing a democratic society of free citizens who can declare their national affiliations freely, that is, the way they feel, Scekic said. This is all the more so because there are 1.2 million people in Yugoslavia who declare themselves Yugoslavs, Scekic added. [passage omitted]

At the proposal of Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic, the Federal Chamber this evening appointed 10 deputy federal secretaries. Milivoje Maksic (Serbia) was appointed deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs; Stane Brovet (Slovenia)—deputy federal secretary for national defense; Bozo Jovanovic (Serbia)—deputy federal secretary for foreign economic relations; Vuk Ognjanovic (Montenegro)—deputy federal secretary for finance. These officials have, in fact, been reappointed to these posts.

Branko Maricic (Serbia) has been appointed deputy federal secretary of trade; Milenko Sarac (Bosnia-Hercegovina) has become deputy federal secretary for energy and industry; Cedomir Pavlovic (Croatia) is new deputy federal secretary for transport and communications.

Antun Seda, hitherto director general of the Vukovar Agricultural and Industry Combine (Croatia), has been appointed deputy federal secretary for agriculture; Mato Pacek (Bosnia-Hercegovina) has become deputy federal secretary for labor, health, veterans' issues, and social policy; and Svetozar Zecar (Kosovo) is deputy federal secretary for justice and administration.

The names of the proposed candidates for deputy federal secretaries for internal affairs and for development will be announced in due course.

Before the appointments were announced, Ljubomir Ajdinski drew attention to the fact taht Macedonia had proposed several candidates for the posts of deputies. We are not dissatisfied with the list proposed by the FEC president, nor do we advocate that each republic or province has to be represented, Ajdanski said. However, we are not pleased with the fact that FEC President Ante Markovic never replied to Macedonia's letter containing the names of proposed candidates. He did not explain or say whether he objected to any of the names, or why no candidate from Macedonia was considered suitable, said Ajdanski, a delegate from Macedonia.

The Federal Chamber is of the opinion that attacks on the concept of all-people's defense and the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] are aimed at denying the YPA's constitutional role and character and its position as the common armed force of all our nations and nationalities, of all working people and citizens, and at questioning its position and role in the system of all-people's defense. By their nature these attacks are also aimed at the achievements of our revolution and at the SFRY's constitutional order. This is stated in the conclusions on the attacks on the YPA which the Federal Chamber adopted this evening.

In the Chamber's view, the federal organs failed to counter promptly and effectively the attacks on the concept of all-people's defense and the YPA. It instructs competent state organs to act in line with the law and to take prompt and decisive measures to suppress and prevent attacks on the concept of all-people's defense and the YPA.

The Federal Chamber charged the FEC with the task of taking, within its rights and duties, efficient measures to suppress attacks on the concept of all-people's defense and the YPA.

The Federal Chamber stresses the judicial organs' constitutional and legal duty to apply the principle of independence and autonomy, and to implement consistently the legal norms on those who have committed punishable acts against the YPA. [passage omitted]

Joze Susmelj [from Slovenia] was the only one who commented on the conclusions.

The Slovene delegates in the Federal Chamber have adopted stances formulated in Slovenia during a public debate. It was said then that we sharply condemned all attacks on the concept of all-people's defense and the YPA, that we favored socialization of the national defense, and that we supported all changes in that area which will form an integral part of a reform in the economic and political system, he noted. He reiterated that as far as Slovenia and its working people and citizens are concerned the conclusions are biased, offensive, unjustified and, as such, unacceptable. They single out the attacks on the YPA in Slovenia but fail to mention the efforts in developing cooperation between the YPA and Slovene citizens, Susmelj added.

While we are discussing these conclusions, a party official from one of the republics is threatening another republic with weapons. Is this not an even more serious attack on the Yugoslavia that is based on the Anti-fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia than articles by individuals which appear in some papers and which deserve to be condemned many times over. Different standards are being employed when assessing attacks on the YPA, Susmelj said.

In his view, the conclusions are basically the same as before and as such the delegates from the Socialist Republic of Slovenia cannot accept them. If they were to accept them, they would act contrary to the arguments and stands of their base, Susmelj stressed.

Assembly Hears Loncar

LD2707170189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1213 GMT 26 Jul 89

["SFRY Assembly: Federal Chamber"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] [dateline not received] [passage omitted] Djurica Lancuski sharply criticized the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. According to him, the report on the work in 1988 lacks self-criticism because it "insufficiently deals with correct and full information about the situation in Kosovo and the introduction of emergency measures in the province." Lancuski believes that this was also reflected in the "adoption of various documents damaging to the SFRY," negative foreign press coverage, and so forth.

How is it possible, he asked, that a small country like Albania, or even Albanian emigres, can exercise greater influence in some countries and institutions on the question of Kosovo than Yugoslavia. He also asked that foreign affairs department to decrease its apparatus and expenditure. This delegate assessed that Yugoslav prestige in the world has dropped. [passage omitted]

Defending the foreign affairs service, Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar asked the delegates whether they got their information about individual countries via embassies in Belgrade or through a consistent policy and their overall performance before the world. Loncar stressed that the way Yugoslavia presents itself to the world should be carried out through a united policy, primarily through its united stand on Kosovo and the approach to the economic reform by the Federal Executive Council [FEC].

Loncar refuted criticism that our diplomacy neglects the Kosovo problem. On the contrary, Loncar said, Kosovo has been and remains the main priority of Yugoslav foreign policy. He backed this claim by citing figures showing that during 198 meetings with foreign partners, the meetings he has had since taking office, almost always he gave priority to acquainting these persons with the situation in Yugoslavia, in particular in Kosovo. He agreed that the public at large should be fully acquainted with all the details of the talks held on those occasions.

The federal foreign secretary pointed out that the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs had cut by 10 percent the number of its employees and rationalized and modernized its work methods. He said that the secretariat had qualified cadres, among them an increasing number of young and educated people with a growing number of those specializing in economic problems.

Loncar refuted the claims that the Balkan ministerial meeting had insufficiently dealt with the question of the position of Yugoslav citizens in neighboring countries. According to him, most of this meeting was spent trying to find a compromise on this issue. He told delegates that during his recent visit to Bulgaria, he held talks with Foreign Minister Mladenov and said he had expected more understanding from the Bulgarian side over the Macedonian question. At the news conference after the meeting, Loncar had, as he said, openly expressed his dissatisfaction and expressed regret that he and Mladenov did not agree on the issue.

Is this also not a concrete contribution by the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat dealing with open questions in relations with neighboring countries, Loncar asked in concluding his response in the Yugoslav Assembly.

Following a debate on foreign political themes, delegates in the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly, on the basis of yesterday's debate, endorsed conclusions on the implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Considering that the whole country earmarks significant funds for speedier development of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo and that the investments have not yielded the necessary results, it is also necessary to offer expert and technical assistance to economic and other areas in the province. This would contribute to a more rational utilization of funds, greater efficiency of production, and better work productivity.

The SFRY Assembly requires the FEC, the Federal Secretariat for Finance, and the Federal Secretariat for Labor, Health and Social policy to look into and propose, in cooperation with appropriate organs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SAP of Kosovo, comprehensive measures to implement an active population policy as well as an operative program on social policy measures for family planning in Kosovo.

In its conclusions, the Yugoslav parliament recommends that the Kosovo Assembly consider assessments, suggestions, and proposals of measures contained in the reports by the FEC, the federal judiciary, and other organs, and as soon as possible take measures to implement them, in particular those suggestions which refer to more efficient work by judicial and other organs.

The commission for monitoring and implementing the Yugoslav program on Kosovo when making its next report must precisely follow up each item on the program, stipulating who did nothing to implement them. The next report by the commission, it is said, should also contain an analysis of the implementation of all conclusions which have so far been adopted by the SFRY Assembly.

Loncar Refutes Criticism

LD2707162289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1820 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 26 (TANJUG)—Delegates of the assembly of Yugoslavia Federal Chamber today criticized the diplomatic service for failing adequately to engage itself to present to the world the true picture about the difficult situation in the Yugoslav autonomous province of Kosovo, which is plagued by Albanian separatism, and about the position of the Yugoslav national minorities in neighbouring countries.

The delegates urged that the problem of Yugoslav minorities in neighbouring countries be treated in concrete and not general terms as so far at all international meetings. The delegates pointed out that this must be the case especially when the neighbouring countries which do not respect the human rights of the Yugoslav national minorities are in question.

The Yugoslav diplomatic service was also criticized for the fact that the issue of the rights of national minorities was hesitantly raised at the Balkan ministerial meeting in Belgrade a year ago.

Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budmir Loncar refuted the criticisms and set out that the developments in the province of Kosovo had been given and would continue to be given priority in Yugoslavia's foreign policy.

Loncar expressed the opinion that the Balkan ministerial meeting had in fact devoted the most time to the adjustment of positions on the rights of national minorities.

Loncar, who recently visited Bulgaria, informed the Federal Chamber delegates that he had expected more understanding for the Macedonian question than his Bulgarian counterpart Peter Mladenov had shown during their talks.

Further Reportage on Azem Vlasi Arrest, Trial

Drnovsek Reply to Wife's Letter

LD2707171989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Jul (TANJUG)—I have received your letter regarding the arrest and forthcoming possible trial of your husband, Azem Vlasi. I understand your concern for your husband and I also understand the way you publicly addressed me in my capacity as President of the SFRY Presidency, Janez Drnovsek's reply to Nadira Vlasi's open letter says.

Nevertheless, in a state with the rule of law, which we advocate, neither state nor other organs—nor even the president of the SFRY Presidency—are allowed to interfere with the work of investigating and judicial organs. They must be, and remain, independent in their work and responsible for the expertise and correctness of all court procedures and sentences. Judicial organs are allowed to serve neither one's interests nor the current politicking.

The strict observance of these principles by all has a special significance for equal treatment of citizens before the court, regardless of national and other belonging, and for a just trial. Only correct procedures and the court's just decisions in all cases, including the "case of Azem Vlasi," can significantly contribute to the further normalization of the all-round situation and to the improvement of human and intra-national relations in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

If there is a trial, it will be held before the public's eyes. I, in my capacity as president of the SFRY Presidency, am calling on all the investigating and judicial organs to execute their tasks responsibly and conscientiously, and to be led only by facts and the principles of a just and independent judicial system.

[Signed] Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency.

Indictment Due in September

AU2707194689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] The investigations against Vlasi, Abrasi, Kavaja, and 16 other persons suspected of committing the criminal act of endangering the social system under Article 114, punishable under Article 139, Section 1, of the Yugoslav Criminal Law have been concluded.

According to the Criminal Procedure Law, indictment must be issued within a period of 6 months. Vlasi and the others were arrested on 2 March, and the investigations should conclude by 2 September, so that on the basis of the evidence gathered, the public prosecutor may issue an indictment against those people for whom evidence exists that they have committed a criminal act, (Avdi Gunej), investigating judge of the Titova Mitrovica District Court says.

It has not been announced when and where the trial of these persons will be held. It is learned that Azem Vlasi will be defended by attorneys Zeljko Olujic of Zagreb, Hasan Hoti of Pristina, and Rajko Danilovic of Belgrade.

Army Commander Comments on Kosovo Situation

AU2707140089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22-23 Jul 89 p 14

[R. B. report: "Counterrevolution Has Lost the First Battle, But Not The War"]

[Text] Pristina, 21 Jul—The counterrevolution has only lost the first battle, but has not lost the war and has not rejected its strategic aims.

The counterrevolution is only hiding, it has chosen the strategy of indirect attacks, and is ready to switch over to the strategy of direct attacks in Yugoslavia or abroad when the conditions for this have been created in Kosovo.

This was stated by General Andrija Silic, commander of the Pristina corp, at today's session of the Provincial Conference of the Federal Reserve Army Officers of Kosovo. The participants in the Conference session, which discussed differentiation, stated that 19 officers and 49 junior officers took part in the protests held in Kosovo last November, and 33 officers and 68 junior officers in strikes held last February. According to available information, no reserve officer took part in the hostile demonstrations held last March, except close relatives of four officers and 3 junior officers. Because of that, nine officers spent some time in detention.

Serbian Foreign Minister on Reform Proposals

AU2707130189 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 26 Jul 89 p 7

["cvm" report: "Unite Yugoslavia Economically"]

[Text] Munich—In the view of Aleksnadar Prlja, foreign minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, the federative state has to be reorganized. In this process, a common monetary policy, a common tax and financial policy, as well as common economic relations of all Yugoslav republics toward the outside have to be ensured, Prlja said at the Munich Press Club, quoting from an unpublished paper with Serbia's proposals for political reforms. The main goals are the democratization and purposeful promotion of the market economy.

A postwar order has to be found in which the various nationalities in Yugoslavia can live together, Prlja said. For a long time the state had only existed "because Tito functioned." When his powers abated, "we felt the disintegration." The nationality conflict is "not the number one problem.

Yugoslavia is suffering from the political and economic legacy of the past. Through a change in the Constitution, the party state has to develop into a community which is based on law and Constitution and where there is no need for ideological justifications, the English translation of the Serbian reform proposals says, which is available to SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG.

Prlja harshly spoke up against the view that, in his opinion, is widespread in Western Europe, that Serbia is ruled by a Stalinist and nationalist one-party government. The demand for democratization and promotion of private property, as well as market economy mechanisms is made in Serbia in the same way as in the allegedly more progressive republics of Slovenia and Croatia. Because of "temporary national irritations," which will be "forgotten within a year," the world did not notice the "interesting proposals" made by Serbia for democratic and economic reforms. The agreement of the republics in political and economic questions will cause a "wave of harmonization" in Yugoslavia.

New Kosovo Economic Chamber President Elected

LD2807122689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1101 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Pristina, 28 Jul (TANJUG)—Delegates of the Kosovo Assembly Economic Chamber, at the proposal of its presidium, unanimously elected Husamedin Azemi as president of the Economic Chamber Presidium. Husamedin Azemi is a member of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium.

Kosovo Presidency Considers Territorial Defense

LD2707082589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Pristina, 26 Jul (TANJUG)—At today's session, the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo deemed that significant results have been achieved in the development of territorial defense in the province. The presidency, as stated, drew attention to the need for increased and more comprehensive activity by all competent subjects in a further advancement of territorial defense and its cadre, and overall preparations for successful execution of responsible tasks. The session noted the need for a speedier resolution of certain financial problems in this sphere.

The presidency formed a commission for issues regarding social reform, and elected as its chairman Rahman Morina, president of the League of Communists Central Committee Presidium of Kosovo.

Pristina Paper on 'Uncontrolled' Differentiation

AU2707082989 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 24 Jul 89 p 7

[G. Bajrami commentary: "Dilemmas Surrounding Differentiation"]

[Text] At its last meeting, the Pristina League of Communists [LC] Communal Committee pronounced the ideopolitical measure of expulsion from the ranks of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] against 80 members of about 40 basic organizations. The purpose of this differentiation, it was said in explanation, was to remove obstacles in the way of further party activity in those places where LC basic organizations have not been sufficiently alert and forceful in taking such measures against these individuals.

In the entire history of its existence, it is impossible to recall a time when this party body, without the slightest explanation, has expelled 86 members within a few minutes, with not a single dissenting vote. This highly surprising fact can be interpreted and commented on in different ways. How can such a long list, with many familiar names from our economic, political, and cultural life, including some outstanding experts in the natural and social sciences, be passed over in silence without a single word from the members of the highest party body in the commune of Pristina? Can the unanimous vote, without a single dissenting voice, be convincing at a time when there is so much talk about democracy within the party? The question inevitably arises of whether this vote means full agreement with the reasons offered by a working group of three or four people, or whether it is a result of a lack of courage on the part of members of this organization to use their own brains and act on their own convictions. Their behavior during the voting gives rise to doubts, because the chairman of the meeting was frequently compelled to intervene and ask all members of the party body to cast their votes.

We have become witnesses to the fact that the process of ideopolitical differentiation has become an "open book," which each person reads to the extent that he is able, but comments on and interprets according to his personal criteria, interests, and ideopolitical standpoint. Thus, while Albanian nationalists consider this process to be a campaign against the Albanians and their intelligentsia, Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists hasten to compile new lists of LCY members from the ranks of the Albanian nationality, against whom differentiation must be carried out.

The arbitrary and uncontrolled pursuit of the process of ideopolitical differentiation would at any time be counterproductive and could legitimize the "campaign" climate, which would be very dangerous for democratic relations within the LC and in our socialist, self-managing society. The members of the party body, by their apathetic attitude, may contribute to such "campaigns" by becoming mere machines, voting on issues which are

in fact not mere matters of formality. The apathy demonstrated at the meeting is damaging not merely for the party body and its inermost leadership, but for its members individually, because with their opportunism they lose their individuality and uncritically acquiesce to group pressure and formal authority. It is well known that the process of bureaucratization is usually accompanied by the phenomena of opportunism, obedience, and conformist behavior. It is precisely for reasons of this kind that the party body failed to dissociate itself in any way from the speech by Ljubisa Bascarevic, one of its members, who went so far as to call all Albanians two-faced and guilty of applying double standards, stressing that the list of 86 members to be expelled from the ranks of the LCY did not offer the slightest encouragement in the process of ideopolitical differentiation, and that much longer lists must be compiled at once.

The members of Pristina's highest party body would not turn a hair if they were to raise their hands tomorrow to vote for a list twice as long, and would not care how Communists at the broad base of the party, whom they represent, felt about this. In such an event, the sentence uttered by Gani Jasari, president of the the Presidium of Pristina LC Communal Committee, "History will judge whether we have done the right thing or not," will not suffice, because it is not the judgments of history that create a common front, but the principles of togetherness, equality, and respect for each other's views in genuine, well-argued dialogue.

Croat Official Interviewed on Serbian Nationalism

AU2707124089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 89 p 4

[Interview with Dragutin Dimitrovic, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, by SLOBODNA DALMACIJA: "No Dialogue with Nationalists"—date, place of interview and date of publication in SLOBODNA DALMACIJA not given]

[Text] Dragutin Dimitrovic, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, granted an interview to SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, parts of which we publish because of the topicality of the subjects on which he comments.

[Question] Numerous forums in Dalmatia and Croatia have said that the Gazi Mestan celebrations and Slobodan Milosevic's speech on that occasion provided fuel for an upsurge of Serbian nationalism at the celebrations in Knin.

[Dimitrovic] This question is posed in the context of the proposition that the Socialist Republic of Croatia lacks the courage to settle accounts with nationalism, that we are trailing behind events, and that we have jeopardized the sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. The reply is two-fold. As regards Milosevic, it is politically clear. A single speech does not change the assessment. His thesis about the Serbs allegedly being the endangered nation in the SFRY and about the need to change the relationship is in fact a settling of accounts with everything in postwar development relations, and an appeal to the Serbs to rally in the name of their new position. Such a break with the values of the development to date is not a basis on which we can build reforms in society. There is no dispute about this.

The disputes for us in the Socialist Republic of Croatia arise with the question of how to struggle against it. In our view, the struggle should not take the form of nationalist gatherings of Croats and of proving that the SFRY has not been a proper framework for us either, but should take the form of reducing the problems of social changes on issues and matters on which people decide not because of their ethnicity but because they want to live better. As far as we are concerned, the threats of force and arms which can be heard give no grounds for saying that we are not afraid or that we have our own horse in the race, but act as a warning that exclusiveness is approaching a point when extreme sensitivity and wisdom are needed in making moves and resolving a situation that is fraught with clashes and conflicts which may be exploited for radical political aims. We are reacting by increasing legality, by keeping cool, and by enabling the system institutions to act correctly in preserving the SFRY.

[Question] A week ago in Abez you said that it was tragic that nationalistic passions and slogans about redrawing the borders of the republics had appeared precisely in Knin, "the cradle of the medieval Croatian state," where the 1,000th anniversary of the assassination of King Zvonimir will be celebrated in September, which also marked the end of that state. Don't you think that this fact and the delayed legal actions in Knin favor the thesis about the continuation of the "Croatian silence" and about a double standard being used toward nationalisms in Croatia?

[Dimitrovic] With the events in Knin, one could have reacted with repression sooner. Instead, everything was filmed and registered, and one reacted only after one was able to show everybody what it all meant. Had this not been shown—and even so many people now want to minimize it—it would have been said that it did not even exist and that the rash anti-Serbian reaction intended to desecrate the manifestation. One had acted in this way particularly since there were indications that excesses and clashes were possible that could aggravate interethnic relations in the Socialist Republic of Croatia. It must be clear to everybody that a destabilization of the situation in Croatia is a prerequisite for a Yugoslavia different from the present. Therefore there are no stereotypes in the political struggle and comparisons are unnecessary.

In order to unmask the excesses and defend the basic interests and values, it was necessary for us to use methods that would produce the greatest effects. Personally I think that the result is good and that we are

dissociating ourselves from elements of Serbian nationalism after Knin in a different way from that before Knin. Even the public in Serbia has finally come to see that this can no longer be tolerated and that a lack of reaction means to break with Tito and the revolution. You know that for a year, this thing was swirling around in Yugoslavia, was tolerated, and ran unchecked. We have created a situation in which this has been demonstrated to Yugoslavia and a line has been drawn. I think that we have drawn that line. The second part of the task is that the federal institutions ensure that the laws are implemented and that they intensify the criteria in the struggle against all types of nationalism, and that we prevent the occurrence of Croatian nationalism based on the pretext that it also has a right to have a go.

Reform and Other Relations

[Question] Is a dialogue a useful means in the struggle against nationalism?

[Dimitrovic] We are aware that several types of nationalism have flared up in the crisis: from Albanian nationalism, through Serbian, and up the separatist occurrences and nationalism in Slovenia and certain forms of nationalism in Croatia, which is neither very large nor homogeneous. It is our experience that dialogue with nationalism most frequently means pouring oil on the fire. Therefore the struggle against nationalism should be conducted in actual life, by affirming the basic values of common life, and not by polemics about nationalist theses whose epilogue is always a misuse of the discussions and arguments and an advancement of the thesis that any different position in fact displays hatred and hostility toward the nation in question.

In our circumstances, this is most frequently interpreted as hatred toward the Serbs. Therefore we consider polemics would be useless if we were to argue that what happens is not in the interest of Serbia, because such polemics would only boomerang on us with the assertion that we have something against them. For these reasons we define our position as a reform attitude, as responsibility of everyone for himself, and as the creation of equal conditions in mutual relations.

[Question] The prolonged crisis has, objectively speaking, destroyed a number of values in the awareness of the people, new values have not been created, and security is tied to certain national and other symbols. Are the national programs for the way out of the crisis our necessary future?

[Dimitrovic] In many crises, misfortunes, fears, and the uncertainty of people are used and misused, most frequently from nationalistic positions, and we have also experienced this. This then is not a question of emancipation of one's own people or nation, but of exploiting the crisis for far-reaching political aims. Therefore we speak now about a clash of the concepts for solving the Yugoslav crisis, the concepts that stand behind the nationalist programs or in them. Thus we distinguish two concepts for overcoming the crisis that use the national element. The first concept is a rather broad antisocialist position which proceeds from the thesis that our socialist development is a mistake and that it has no potential for continuation, and that one should therefore return to a strengthening of bourgeois society, which will be better outside the SFRY. Under such conditions, nationalist rallying is an occasion for wrecking the SFRY, as well as a gathering of forces to realize a separate program.

On the other hand, you have an anti-self-managing position which says that self-management was a blunder and that one should return to the well-tried solutions—the market, a strong state, and management—reducing self-management to certain levels of participation. One of the central questions of the present day—ownership relations—is solved by imposing the state as the owner. This is accompanied by the thesis about the citizen as the bearer of sovereignty and the need to build the whole pyramid of Yugoslavia on the citizen, which broaches the discussion of federal relations. At first sight, this position has no need to misuse the national element. However, in the strategy of "the worse the better," this position creates the conditions for the people to exchange their acquired self-managing rights for peace offered by a strong state and for the manager's wage.

Slippery Log Policy

[Question] If other concepts are hiding behind nationalism, or if such concepts are only a part of the strategy for reshaping Yugoslavia, may we strip bare some concepts that endanger the federal foundations set up by the 1974 Constitution, and thus the sovereignty of Croatia? The thesis, for instance, about the need for the parent nation to exercise patronage over its members in other communities is one of anti-AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] theses, is it not?

[Dimitrovic] The thesis about the right of the parent nation to care about its nationals everywhere and to be a factor in settling their relations and positions is a stance frequently repeated in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. This logic presupposes that the nation is organized in other communities, that people are tied to the parent nation, and a number of other solutions conflicting with the present practice. This is a real problem, while many people in Serbia believe that this is the way to solve the Yugoslav crisis. The differences about this lead to conflict, to a slippery log.

What we must achieve is above all that the Serbs in Croatia or the Croats in Bosnia discuss this with those with whom they have been living for centuries. It is essential to grasp that these theses ultimately tend to a redrawing of borders, the abolition of some republics, for instance Bosnia-Hercegovina, and finally to the abandonment of AVNOJ. Our republics have been established above as states of those who live in them, and are equal in their relations with

others. To reject the theses does not mean to weaken national links with the parent nation, because this is a matter of complex problems of common life. The Socialist Republic of Croatia cannot accept an outside arbiter for interethnic relations in Croatia, because accepting such an arbiter would negate Croatia.

[Question] If the end result is not to be the slippery log, then what is it to be?

[Dimitrovic] It is said that if you want something very much and if you are brave enough to struggle for it, your wish will come true. Therefore, if we wish to have the SFRY which emanates from AVNOJ foundations and the most glorious traditions of postwar development, one must struggle for it and one must not, under various pretexts, accept platforms that destroy it. One must comprehend that the SFRY cannot sail in calm waters before it masters inflation, the crisis, and all that this brings in its wake. Therefore one works on several fronts, ranging from strengthening the economic position of society to solving the open questions of development of socialism.

Croatian Defense Committee Issues Statement

LD2707014089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1549 GMT 26 Jul 89

["Statement From Session of Croatian Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Zagreb, 26 July (TANJUG)—Today's session of the Croatian Committee for All People's Defense and Social Self-Protection, held in Zagreb under the chairmanship of Stanko Stojcevic, examined the current security and political situation in the republic. A statement was issued from the session. Besides positive assessments of activities undertaken so far to improve efficiency in the protection and security of working people and citizens, the committee concluded:

—in order to improve the self-protection mechanism in Croatia and guarantee the complete security of citizens and, in particular, visitors to the tourist region of Croatia, it is necessary to achieve the complete involvement and coordination of all subjects in the system with the aim of ensuring public order and peace, and preventing any form of disturbance of citizens.
—it is necessary to create through the political activity of leaderships and all sociopolitical organizations conditions for preventing the existence of phenomena which disrupt public peace and order, particularly those which destroy intranational relations in the Croatian Socialist Republic and the SFRY.
—in accordance with its legal responsibility, the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of the Croatian Socialist Republic has drawn up an operational plan of activity for all subjects of the system in keeping with its legal authority.

Croatian 'Group' Attacks Children in Pirovac

LD2707135789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Summary] Split, 26 Jul (TANJUG)—Following hooliganism by a group of Novi Sad youths from positions of Serbian nationalism on 24 July at a camp at Zablace, near Sibenik, last night there was an attack by Croatian nationalists on 170 boys and girls, aged 8 to 14 years, from Smederevo, who were staying in a vacation home at Pirovac. The group of as yet unidentified attackers lit a fire outside the building, and when some of the older children and teachers came out to see what was happening, they were attacked and beaten by 15-20 youths, who then threw stones and pieces of wood at the building, breaking almost all the windows. The attackers only dispersed when a policeman, acting as a sports teacher to the children, fired a revolver shot into the air. The Sibenik internal affairs organs are looking for the attackers. The group of children and their teachers returned to Belgrade by train this evening.

Montenegrin Party Presidium Holds Discussions

LD2707115589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0959 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Titograd, 26 Jul (TANJUG)—The source of the current Yugoslav crisis is a collectivistic and etatistic model of a society, which only altered its forms and exponents, and which has finally become a national collectivism headed by national rulers [naciokratija]. This is the assessment of the Montenegrin LC [League of Communists] Central Committee, which, in the first half of its session, discussed political pluralism.

Presenting the introductory speech on this topic, Srdjan Darmanovic stressed that it is now of vital importance for our society to affirm individuals as citizens, their inalienable rights and liberties. This means that we cannot pose a dilemma of whether or not we need political pluralism, but what kind of political pluralism we will have. At the same time, Darmanovic added, we should bear in mind that the LC cannot order citizens which kind of political pluralism to decide, because it is their inalienable right to decide on this. But, the LC can advocate certain solutions and can fight for their implementation in a democratic way.

In that sense, two orientations must be unquestioned for the Montenegrin LC. First, the SFRY is not an artificial creation, but a result of joint historical orientations of all our nations and nationalities, and the most feasable state framework for realization of their particular and common interests. Second, whatever form of political pluralism is set up, it must, above all, be an alliance for the reform, because the LC brought the society into the present crisis, but it alone cannot take it away.

Today, different models of political pluralism are provided at the open Yugoslav political scene, Darmanovic went on, and for that reason we judge that it should be said at this

moment that we regard the so-called nonparty pluralism as an unrealistic political project, which has no basis in any existing and rationally organized society.

Instead, the Montenegrin LC is in favor of constitutionally and legally guaranteed freedom of political association, about which SFRY citizens will decide of their own free will, but during the initial phase of development of political pluralism associations will be formed within the framework of a substantially changed Socialist Alliance. Instead of a sociopolitical organization, it would become a kind of political space, a voluntary alliance or coalition of various political forces, whose goal is, above all, reform and a way out of the crisis.

A general presupposition for a democratic society and political pluralism, Darmanovic said, is a dismantling of the party state and its transformation into a law-governed one. For the Montenegrin LC, the law-governed state must be synonymous with an honest, efficient, competent state, without ideology, which neither imposes itself on society nor divides citizens into communists and others, into Marxists and those not holding this viewpoint, but divides them only into those who observe the constitution and laws and those who break them.

Therefore, the LC should review its own role in the system of political pluralism. It has become obvious that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and within its framework the Montenegrin LC, cannot retain the present form of organization if it is at all interested in social prosperity. As an artificial union of different national organizations, the LC is in a deep crisis. As well as this, it neither features on a sociopolitical scene, nor can issue commands to society.

Citizens do not want priori judgments and stands expressed from the top of political power. The fundamental axiom of democratic policies for any political organizations, including the LC, is that it can fight today for citizens' support only by offering and implementing ideas, proposals and programs of quality and in competition with others, while being aware that one can get or lose support and legality only in free elections.

In pluralistic society, the LC is allegedly not giving up its amibition to remain the leading social force and to influence decisively the course of the social development. However, such influence and citizens' support must be fought at a free political pace, on which the LC should prove that it is better and more capable than others, and not just that is stronger when the existing institutions are taken into consideration, Darmanovic said. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon session, the LC considered resignations and proposals for revocation of some LCY Central Committee members from this republic and members of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee, as well as the initiative of the leadership of the youth organization for establishing the justifiability and need for revocation of Nenad Buscin from the post of member of the SFRY Presidency.

Regarding the initiative of the youth leaderhsip, the Central Committee accepted the view of its Presidium that, on the basis of the facts known so far and circumstances made public, there are no good reason for starting initiative to release Nenad Bucin from the state function he currently holds. [passage omitted] This case, the Presidium noted, unambigously confirms that the truth is never at either extreme. Nenad Bucin's participation at the session of the two presidiums on 7 and 8 October of last year is not by itself a reason for his political or any other accountability. Comrade Bucin has never denied that he attended the session, although, as known by the Presidium, he has never explicitly confirmed that he took part in its work. His extremly critical attitude toward the session, and especially toward decisions adopted at it, created the impression among the public that he was not present. There was significant public surprise when the published stenographic report revealed that he was present at the session.

Also, no serious criticism can be addressed to Comrade Bucin's statements at the session, judged by the report based on recordings. However, discord between Nenad Bucin's statements at the session of the two presidiums, and later extremly sharp critical assessments of its content and decisions is visible. We believe that it would be much more useful and purposefull if Comrade Bucin expressed such sharpness, decisiveness, and critical attitude at the session itself. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee accepted the assessment of its Presidium that according to the available information there is no basis for initiating proceedure for establishing personal responsibility of the present member of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee, Blazo Orlandic, who as a member of the Republican Presidency, attended the well-known session of the two republican presidiums which decided to introduce the state of emergency in Titograd in October of last year. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee accepted Dr Perko Vukotic's resignation from the post of member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium because he made this a condition when accepting the candidacy for the post. It was decided to suggest to Vukotic not to insist on the resignation of membership of the LCY Central Committee. It was stressed that no uncertainties exist about the quality and correctness of the political work and engagements of Perko Vukotic, and that the acceptance of his resignaiton can be in no way linked with his presence at the incriminated session of the two Montenegrin presidiums in October.

As a result of being elected to other posts, demands of Dr Dragan Radonjic and Milutin Lazic for their release from the Presidium and the Montenegrin LC Central Committee were accepted.

It was also assessed that the Montenegrin LC Central Committee opens an initiative with the LCY Central Committee for Slobodan Filipovic and Andjelko Kovacevic to be expelled from LCY Central Committee membership because of complete loss of confidence in these officials.

Today's session also discussed the offered resignation of Dr Zdravko Grebo from membership of the LCY Central Committee. It was concluded that a departure of such a man would present a great loss for the Central Committee and the LC; members of the LCY Central Committee from Montenegro will make efforts so that this does not occur.

Discusses Pluralism

LD2707083389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1910 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Titograd, July 26 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of the Republic of Montenegro, southwestern Yugoslavia, is for a constitutionally and legally guaranteed right to organise, it was pointed out at its Central Committee session on political pluralism here today.

In the initial phase of developing political pluralism in Yugoslavia, this getting organised would be done within a sweepingly changed Socialist Alliance, Yugoslavia's largest nationwide mass socio-political organisation, it was said.

Instead of remaining a socio-political organisation, the Socialist Alliance would turn into a voluntary alliance or a coalition of various political forces, reform-minded above all and intent on finding a way out of the going-on economic and social crisis for Yugoslavia, it was said in the introductory remarks.

The general presumption for a democratic society and political pluralism within it is to dismantle the party state and convert it into a legal state, it was said.

In the eyes of Montenegro's Communists, a legal state is a synonym for a fair, efficient, and competent state neither usurping its society nor dividing its citizens into Communists and those others, but solely into law-abiding ones and law-breaking others.

While rejected was in the introductory remarks, the so-called non-party pluralism as something not to be found in any rationally organised society torn, it emphasised in the ensuing debate that pluralism in Yugoslavia could not be implemented through conventional political parties and their struggle for power either. [sentence as received]

Some opinions were also held about the so-called multiparty system as being the most suitable for the Yugoslav reality for the time being, with restrictions added to ban any getting organised for the purpose of negating positive achievements in socialism, stirring up nationalistic and religious hatred, as well as to ban others opposing the moral and public order.

Expresses Confidence in Bucin

LD2707162989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0001 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Titograd, July 26 (TANJUG)—The Central Committee of the League of Communists of the Republic of Montenegro today expressed its confidence in member of the Yugoslav state Presidency, Nenad Bucin and rejected an initiative by the republics youth leadership for his recall.

The presidency of the youth organization of the republic has called for Bucin's recall from his post on account of his participation in the work of the meetings of Montenegro's party and republican presidencies early in October last year, when it was decided to introduce a state of emergency in Titograd because of a mass protest in the republic's capital and for the demonstrations to be broken up by force.

The Central Committee said that there were no valid reasons for a demand for Bucin's recall to be launched. His participation does not constitute reason enough for his being called to render accounts, and no serious objections can be raised about Bucin's conduct at those meetings, the Central Committee members hold.

Bucin won the confidence of a majority of the Montenegro electorate at the referendum to pick the republic's representative for the Yugoslav Presidency this year.

The Montenegro Central Committee also said there were no grounds for its member Blazo Orlandic to be called to accounts. However, it accepted the resignation of Dr Perko Vukotic, who feels he is personally responsible for the imposition of special measures last year.

The republican party's highest forum also dismissed from membership in the Presidency and the Central Committee, two of its members because of their responsibility for the introduction of the special measures and a loss of political confidence, and released another two members on account of their taking up new functions.

Bosnian President Addresses Republican Assembly

AU2607103389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 89 p 3

[M. Lucic report: "The Improved FEC Program Is Offering a Way Out of the Crisis"]

[Text] The delegates of all three chambers of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina today endorsed the report on the work of the Bosnian Presidency in the past year. Obrad Piljak, president of the Bosnian Presidency, stressed in his speech that like all other republican

organs, the Presidency, in addition to having to work under difficult conditions caused by the economic crisis, also had to work under extremely aggravated political circumstances in the country and pronounced mistrust in all the system's institutions. He stressed that at one time the Presidency had not been able to act effectively and perform its constitutionally defined tasks due to the fact that five of its members were in the process of retiring and one resigning, and that the procedure for electing a new member of the Presidency lasted a long time. Despite this, the Presidency has contributed toward solving topical socioeconomic and political issues in the republic and the country.

We in Bosnia-Hercegovina reacted resolutely and uncompromisingly to all attempts to divide and reshape Yugoslavia. Piljak stressed that, being aware of the responsibility for the tasks and needs of the Yugoslav community, the Presidency expressed on several occasions the firm orientation and readiness of the working people and citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina to defend and preserve the Yugoslavia that was founded on AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles, and Tito's concept of the Yugoslav self-managing socialist federal commune.

He stressed that the economic-systemic measures, which were introduced by the Federal Executive Council in order to stabilize and more rapidly revive the market and economic laws in the long run, cannot produce quick results and that they are not sufficient to check and possibly reduce inflation in the short term. We appreciate the fact that opportunities to reduce social costs and public expenditure exist in the sphere of taxation policy, and that this could lead to a faster and more substantial reduction in inflation. There are indications that further improvements in the program of the Federal Executive Council could lead to the more rapid overcoming of the economic crisis, and in our view the Federal Executive Council's program deserves support.

We are of the opinion that solving the Kosovo drama is one of the prime objectives of all organs and every citizen of this republic, Piljak said. We have always viewed the counterrevolution in Kosovo as the most impudent attack on the integrity of Yugoslavia. We tried, within our capabilities, to intensify the process of the self-managing pooling of resources and funds between Bosnian and Kosovo basic associated labor organizations, and to help the realization of the set investment projects in Kosovo, Piljak explained.

He also said that the Republican Presidency has taken clear and resolute sands concerning the Yugoslav People's Army and the state security service, and that it has pointed out the possible consequences that could ensue.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Issues Warning on Nationalism
LD2507221989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2108 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Sarejevo, July 25 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina warned in a statement issued on Tuesday, of the growing Moslem, Serbian and Croatian nationalism in the republic, whose population is made up of these three nations and several other nationalities.

The slow settlement of above all economic, but also political and social problems, has resulted in growing dissatisfaction among the people in the republic and has opened up possibilities for nationalist activities, the republican Presidency warned.

The statement also said that the activity of the extremist clergy, which would like to influence the character of the Yugoslav community of nations and nationalities, has been felt for some time.

There are many examples of the church supporting the activities of anti-socialist forces and particularly those opposed to equality and brotherhood among the Yugoslav nations and nationalities, the Presidency statement said.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists (LC) Central Committee Presidency also issued a statement on nationalism following its session today. The session was held as part of the preparation for the Yugoslav League of Communists plenary session on July 30 and 31 devoted to inter-nationality relations in the country.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC does not accept the policy and practice of national homogenization and [words indistinct] the brotherhood, unity, and equality of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities and their socialist, self-management unity within the federation system, the statement said.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC rejects the policy and efforts to establish one-nation institutions which would be detrimental to the brotherly nations living in this republic and expects its commitments to be taken into account, since this has not always been the case in the past.

The experience of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina shows that joint national institutions to not stand in the way of national equality, cultural and all other forms of development of the nations and nationalities, the statement said.

Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina Mark Uprising Day
LD2707211989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1944 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Zagreb, Sarajevo, July 27 (TANJUG)—Instead of trying to solve the arrears of socio-economic problems, very much of energy is being wasted in Yugoslavia on absurd nationalistic vyings in outwitting one another while exposing its federal community to threatening ordeals, Andjelko Runjic, president of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, western Yugoslavia, stated at an anniversary celebration in the one-time town of Knin border area to mark the uprising day of the Croatian people against fascism in World War Two.

Being a multinational country, Yugoslavia can solve its deep-going economic crisis only by way of joint actions and by struggling against all its nationalisms while being built into a federal, self-managing, socialist, free and democratic country, he emphasised.

In Yugoslavia's democratic, multinational community problems arising can be solved only on the basis of equality, said Ivica Racan, member of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Presidency CC [Central Committee], at a celebration to mark Croatia's uprising day in its regions of Slavonia and Baranya.

Yugoslavia is not strong if only one of its constituent republics is strong, he said alluding to some stands in the republic of Serbia. Strong must be all of its republics or else there will be no Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Ravan stressed.

He reminded of the Tito message that nationalism, statism, and bureaucratism are stamped out the most efficiently if stamped out on one's own soil first. This requires, for instance, that Croatia struggles against Croatian and other nationalisms on its own soil, as well as against spreading antiSerbian feelings and nationalistic feelings against other Yugoslav peoples. This requires at the same time that struggle be led in the republic of Serbia against Serbian and other nationalisms, as well as against spreading antiCroatian feelings and feelings against other Yugoslav peoples, he added.

Any divisiveness along religious and nationalistic lines means disaster not only to peoples and nationalities living in the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, central Yugoslavia, but also to the whole of Yugoslavia, Nijaz Durakovic, its party president, said at a celebration in the place of Bosanska Dubica to mark the republic's uprising day, the uprising having broken out, like in the republic of Croatia, on July 27, 1941.

Warning that violating the political concept of socialist self-management shall not be allowed in the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Durakovic recalled the most tragic conflicts having arisen in Yugoslavia during its 1941-45 national liberation war by reason of religious and nationalistic hatred. This is why in the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina even today [words indistinct] with bitterness are and shall be stopped by all efforts all attempts at stirring up nationalistic and religious bad-blood feelings, Durakovic stressed.

Slovene Potrc Speaks of 'Common Homeland'

AU2707134189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul p 1

[D. Draskovic report: "Stepping Into One's Own History"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Jul—The Uprising Day of the people of Slovenia was celebrated more modestly on 22 July than in earlier years. Awards were presented to individuals and institutions at the main celebrations in the republican assembly. The historian and writer France Filipic received recognition for his life's work. Awards for monographs on the subject of the National Liberation Struggle were awarded to Milan Zevrat, Drago Vresnik, Vido Remc, Milos Mikeln, and Rajko Ranfl, and Urban Koder received an award for the film "Long Live Freedom." Special awards from the Slovene Veterans Federation were presented to the publishing council and writers of the "Partisan Corridor" collection, a department of the Ljubljana city museum and the photographic department of the Revolution Museum of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia.

A republican delegation laid a wreath at the revolution monument in Ljubljana and an Armed Forces delegation from the fifth army district laid a wreath at the tomb of national heroes. Lieutenant General Andrija Raseta, chief of army headquarters, and Colonels Mirko Kranjc and Stevo Kerkez were in the delegation from the fifth army district.

A wreath was laid at the tomb of Josip Broz Tito, in the House of Flowers in Belgrade, by a republican delegation which included Joze Smole, president of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia, Joze Skolc, president of the Slovene youth organization, and Valentin Dvojmic, president of the Associated Labor Chamber of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia.

The main celebrations were held in the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia at which Milan Potrc, president of the Assembly, spoke. He stressed at the beginning that by taking up arms and opposing the occupiers, the people of Slovenia stepped into their own history and honorably met the historical challenge. The armed uprising, stressed Potrc, created the Slovene partisan army which, along with others in Yugoslavia, grew into our joint armed force of the Yugoslav People's Army. Therefore, the Slovene people recognize and respect the historical significance of the national-liberation struggle and the people's revolution and reject all attempts to change their role and significance, stressed Milan Potrc.

The Slovene people, continued the president of the Slovene Assembly, did not enter the Yugoslav federation in order to limit its own freedom and independence but to permanently ensure them. Thus we do not accept Yugoslavia as a common homeland as a historical fact, but we want to live in it with all the responsibility involved and cooperate in its creation. Whoever wants a different Yugoslavia must set it up without us, because a Yugoslavia in which human and national rights are not respected, a Yugoslavia in which a political monopoly, national superiority, or exploitation prevail, would not only not suit the Slovene people, but could not even exist. We do not want to cooperate in digging the grave of our common homeland and we are aware of this responsibility and we would like all others to be aware of it too, said Milan Potrc.

Potrc then stressed that we are today facing important decisions which have, as once in the National Liberation Struggle, an essential influence on our further development and survival, and, according to opinions that have been voiced inside and outside Yugoslavia in the last few years, the prospects are not good for Yugoslavia and Slovenia within it. In this respect, stressed Potrc, one should bear in mind that democracy, political pluralism, the pluralism of ownership, business efficiency, human and civil rights, the role of the state, and relations in the federation are key issues of the necessary and radical social and political reforms which must give new elements to our relations and views of socialism. The essence of these relations cannot be defined or limited by any ideology which is turned toward the past. The essence of these relations can be constructed only in a patient dialogue between equals, along with full respect for the sovereignty of each people, and crucial decisions can be adopted only with the full agreement of the peoples, stressed Potrc. If we behave any differently, the crisis will become deeper and deeper and only those who are blinded by their personal ambitions and who imagine that they have a monopoly on the truth will fail to comprehend it. Those who have divided us will bear the responsibility for this kind of behavior and for the consequences

The way out of the crisis is not in the compromises of the various nationalisms which exist throughout Yugoslavia. Political pluralism, stressed Potrc, is the foundation of democratic and political relations. The effect of the economic crisis and brakes on the reform is that democratic relations not being fully affirmed. Reducing inflation without administrative measures can restore lost confidence and hope in the future. We are worried, stressed Potrc, that differences in the SFRY are intensifying around this issue.

Slovene Party Central Committee Holds Session

LD2707205889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1148 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Jul (TANJUG)—The material indications show that the period between the 10th and 11th congress of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] was one of great failures. On the other hand, however, political practice saw the introduction of democratic methods of resolving problems through dialogue and argument. The slogan "Socialism to suit the people" became our trademark.

This was stressed by Tina Tomlje in the introductory speech on the draft report on the work of the Slovene LC between the two congresses at today's session of the Slovene LC Central Committee. She added that research has shown that the views of the LC leadership and membership are in fairly close accord, and that a large proportion of the population takes a similar line to the LC on open issues. The forthcoming congress should draw the line between the revolutionary and reform character of the organization.

The draft report will be published in September, when the public debate on it begins. In addition to the report on the work of the Slovene LC between the two congresses, the Slovene LC Central Committee is also examining today a report on the public debate on the revival of the Slovene LC and on the Slovene LC Central Committee stances on political pluralism.

Government Replies to Question on Clearing Trade

AU2607154189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22-23 Jul 89 p 10

[Dj. Kesic report: "Receiving Payment for Exports Through 'Mediators'"]

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jul—At the end of last month, our country was owed 1.5 million clearing dollars by the countries which conduct trade in convertible currency [as published]. At the same time, domestic exporters were waiting for the National Bank to pay them 8.5 million clearing dollars for their exports. The exchange of commodities and services with East European countries has little to do with market laws: When they export their goods, our exporters do not receive money directly, but are paid by the National Bank of Yugoslavia which is then reimbursed by the importer when something is bought on that market.

Since Yugoslavia's exports to the clearing area are much higher than its imports from it, the total trade with East European countries is unbalanced. Since banks do not have money for that purpose, the state resorts to printing money in order to reimburse exporters. There is also the fact that the payment is delayed for a period of up to 60 days, something which renders idle the capital of both the state and the exporters. Of course, all this turns into an inflationary blow.

This was said in the Federal Government's reply to the question asked by Branko Skok, delegate to the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber. It is said in the reply that the highest sum we claim is from the Soviet Union (at the end of June the debt amounted to 1.48 million clearing dollars). An agreement on the credit for 555 million clearing dollars with 4.75 percent interest has been signed with this country. Czechoslovakia owes us 16.8 million clearing dollars, East Germany 32 million, Albania 11.8 million, and Mongolia 3.3 million.

It can be seen from the reply to Branko Skok's question that Croatia has exported most to the clearing area in the first 6 months (305 million clearing dollars), then comes Serbia proper with 248 million, Slovenia with 226.9 million, Bosnia-Hercegovina with 215 million, Vojvodina with 78.6 million, Macedonia with 64.8 million, Montenegro with 29.9 million, and Kosovo with 28.6 million clearing dollars. Serbia's total exports to the clearing area, when the two provinces' results are added up, totals 355.2 million clearing dollars.

Regarding the imports from this area, since commodity exchange is done at state level, its proportion is regulated by the exports.

There was still no answer to the other part of delegate Skok's question. He asked whether criminal proceedings will be started against the authors of the commentary carried in POLITIKA EKSPRES and POLITIKA, and against their chief and responsible editors, because in expressing their views on this problem they asserted that Ante Markovic's government with its policy on clearing area trade syphons money from the south to the north and that "the premier instigated a quarrel among peoples."

Drnovsek Receives New Ambassador to Canada
LD2707084289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1714 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jul (TANJUG)—Today Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, received Goran Kapetanovic, the new extraordinary and plenipotentiary SFRY ambassador to Canada, prior to his departure to the new post.